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ON THE RACE AND LANGUAGE OF THE PICTS.

(Continued from p. 307.)

THE third source of information to which we may resort, is the topography of the districts which the Picts are known to have occupied ; and we have now to inquire whether any light is thrown from this source on the race and language of the Picts.

The etymology of the names of places in a country is either a very important element in fixing the ethnology of its inhabitants, or it is a snare and a delusion, just according as the subject is treated. When such names are analysed according to fixed laws based upon sound philological principles, and a comprehensive observation of facts, they afford results both important and trustworthy ; but if treated empirically, and based upon resemblance of sounds alone, they become a mere field for wild conjecture and fanciful etymologies leading to no certain results. The latter is the ordinary process to which they are subjected. The natural tendency of the human mind is to a mere phonetic etymology of names both of persons and of places. It is this tendency which has given rise to what may be called "punning" etymologies, in which the king of Scotland plays so facetious a part, when the first Guthrie had that name fixed upon him by the king, from his proposing, when asked how many fish should be prepared,

to "gut three"; and when Rosemarkie received its name because the king, on asking what land he neared, was answered, "Ross, mark ye." This illustrates the natural tendency to suggest a mere phonetic etymology, in which the sounds of the name of the place appear to resemble the sounds in certain words of a certain language; the language from which the etymology is derived being selected upon no sound philological grounds, but from arbitrary considerations merely.

Unhappily an etymology founded upon mere resemblance of sounds has hitherto characterised all systematic attempts to analyse the topography of Scotland, and to deduce ethnologic results from it. Prior to the publication of the statistical account of Scotland in 1792, it may be said that no general attempt had been made to explain the meaning of the names of places in Scotland, or to indicate the language from which they were derived. We find occasionally in old lives of the saints, and in charters connected with church lands, that names of places occurring in them are explained; and these interpretations are very valuable, as indicating what may be termed the common tradition of their meaning and derivation at an early period. Of very different value are a few similar derivations in the fabulous histories of Boece, Buchanan, and John Major, which are usually mere fanciful conjectures of pedantry.

The first impetus to anything like a general etymologising of Scottish topography was given when Sir John Sinclair projected the statistical account of Scotland. In the schedule of questions which he issued in 1790 to the clergy of the church of Scotland, the first two questions were as follow:

"1.—What is the ancient and modern name of the parish?

"2.—What is the origin and etymology of the name?" This set every minister thinking what was the meaning of the name of his parish. The publication of the poems of Ossian, and the controversy which followed, had tended greatly to identify national feeling and the his-

tory of the country with the Gaelic literature and language; and, with few exceptions, the etymology was sought for in that language. The usual formula of reply was, "the name of this parish is derived from the Gaelic"; and then followed a Gaelic sentence resembling in sound the name of the parish, and supposed admirably to express its characteristics, though the unfortunate minister is often obliged to confess that the parish is remarkably free from the characteristics expressed by the Gaelic derivation of its name. These etymologies are usually suggested irrespective entirely of any known facts as to the history or population of the parish, and are purely phonetic. Thus the writer of the account of Elie in the *New Statistical Account* observes:

"The writer of the former statistical account has, according to the fashion which seems to have prevailed in his day as well as now, had recourse to Gaelic,—the mother, as it should seem, of languages,—and tells us that the parish received its name from 'a liche,' signifying out of the sea. We are disposed to doubt its soundness, for the village is not further out of the sea than any other part of the coast: nay, it extends further into it. We should rather be inclined to consider Elie as having sprung from the Greek word, *elos*, a marsh."

Both etymologies are entirely irrespective of the fact that the old form of the word was "Chellin."

After the publication of the statistical account, Gaelic was in the ascendant, as the source of all Scottish etymologies, till the publication of Chalmers' *Caledonia* in 1807. John Pinkerton had, indeed, tried to direct the current of popular etymology into a Teutonic channel; but his attempts to find a meaning in Gothic dialects for words plainly Celtic were so unsuccessful that he failed even to gain a hearing. Chalmers was more fortunate. His theory was that a large proportion of the names of places in Scotland are to be derived from the Welsh, and indicate an original Welsh population. And this he has worked out with much labour and pains. In doing so he was the first to attempt to shew evidence of the dialectic difference between Welsh and Gaelic pervading the

names of places, and to discriminate between them ; but for almost all the names of places in the Lowlands of Scotland he furnishes a Welsh etymology, which, like his predecessors, the Scottish clergy, he supposes to be expressive of the characteristics of the locality. His theory has in the main commanded the assent of subsequent writers, and is usually assumed to be on the whole a correct representation of the state of the fact. Yet his system was as purely one of a phonetic etymology, founded upon mere resemblance of sounds, as those of his predecessors. The MSS. left by George Chalmers shew how he set about preparing his etymologies, and we now know the process he went through. He had himself no knowledge of either branch of the Celtic language ; but he sent his list of names to Dr. Owen Pughe, and that most ingenious of all Welsh lexicographers, who was capable of reducing every word in every known language in the world to a Welsh original, sent him a list of Welsh renderings of each word, varying from twelve to eighteen in number, out of which Chalmers selected the one which seemed to him most promising. As an instance we may refer to a pet etymology of Chalmers, on which he has built an historical fact which has been followed by all subsequent writers. He interprets Kilspindy (the name of a place in Aberlady Bay), which belonged to the Bishop of Dunkeld, as signifying in Welsh "Cillyspendu," which he renders "the cell of the black heads," and supposed that it indicated a settlement of Culdees. We have no reason to suppose that the Culdees were distinguished by having black head-dresses ; but the etymology is philologically false, for *cill* is Gaelic, and not Welsh. *Ys* is no known form of the article in Welsh ; and *pen du* means "black head" in the singular : in the plural it would be *penau duon*. The old form of the word puts the etymology to rout, for it was originally written *Kinespinedin*. His other etymologies are all equally founded on a mere resemblance of sounds between the modern form of the word and the modern Welsh, as those of the clergy in

the statistical account were between the modern form of the word and the modern Gaelic.

That system of interpreting the names of places, which I have called phonetic etymology, is, however, utterly unsound. It can lead only to fanciful renderings, and is incapable of yielding any results that are either certain or important. Names of places are, in fact, sentences or combinations of words originally expressive of the characteristics of the place named, and applied to it by people who then occupied the country, in the language spoken by them at the time, and are necessarily subject to the same philological laws which governed that spoken language. The same rules must be applied in interpreting a local name as in rendering a sentence of the language. That system, therefore, of phonetic etymology which seeks for the interpretation of a name in mere resemblance of sound to words, in an existing language, overlooks entirely the fact that such names were fixed to certain localities at a much earlier period, when the language spoken by those who applied the name must have differed greatly from any spoken language of the present day. Since the local names were deposited on the country, the language itself from which they were derived has gone through a process of change, corruption, and decay. Words have altered their forms, sounds have varied, forms have become obsolete, and new forms have arisen, and the language in its present state no longer represents that form of it which existed when the local nomenclature was formed. The topographical expressions, too, go through a process of change and corruption till they diverge still further from the spoken form of the language as it now exists.

This process of change and corruption in the local names varies according to the change in the population. Where the population has remained unchanged, and the language in which the names applied is still the spoken language of the district, the names either remain in their original shape,—in which case they represent

an older form of the same language,—or else they undergo a change analogous to that of the spoken language. Obsolete names disappear as obsolete words drop out of the language and are replaced by more modern vocables. Where there has been a change in the population, and the older race are replaced by a people speaking a kindred dialect, the names of places are subjected to the dialectic change which characterises the language. There are some striking instances of this where a British form has been superseded by a Gaelic form, as for instance Kirkintulloch, the old name of which, Nennius informs us, was Caerpentaloch,—*kin* being the Gaelic equivalent of the Welsh *pen*; Penicuik, the old name of which was Penjacob; Kincaid, the old name of which was Pencoed. Where, however, the new language introduced by the change of population is one of a different family entirely, then the old name is stereotyped in the shape in which it was when the one language superseded the other, becomes unintelligible to the people, and undergoes a process of change and corruption of a purely phonetic character, which often entirely alters the aspect of the name.

In the former cases it is chiefly necessary to apply the philologic laws of the language to its analysis; in the latter, which is the case with the Celtic topography of the low country, it is necessary, before attempting to analyse the name, to ascertain its most ancient form, which often differs greatly from its more modern aspect. It is with this class of names we have mainly to do as presenting the phenomena I am anxious to investigate.

When the topography of a country is examined, its local names will be found, as a general rule, to consist of what may be called generic terms and specific terms. What I mean by generic terms are those parts of the name which are common to a large number of them, and are descriptive of the general character of the place named; and by specific terms, those other parts of the names which have been added to distinguish one place from another. The generic terms are usually general words

for river, mountain, valley, plain, etc.; the specific terms, those words added to distinguish one river or mountain from another. Thus in the Gaelic name, Glenmore, "glen" is the generic term, and is found in a numerous class of words; "more" (great), the specific or distinguishing term, to distinguish it from another called Glenbeg. In the Saxon term Oakfield, "field" is the generic term, and "oak" the specific, to distinguish it from Broomfield, etc.

When the names of places are applied to purely natural objects, such as rivers, mountains, etc., which remain unchanged by the hand of man, the names applied by the original inhabitants are usually adopted by their successors, though speaking a different language; but the generic term frequently undergoes a phonetic corruption, as in the Lowlands, where *aber* has in many cases become *ar*, as in Arbroath, Arbuthnot; *ballin* has become *ban*, as in Bandoch; *pettin* has become *pen*, as in Pendriech; *pol* has become *pow*, and *traver* has become *tar* and *tra*. On the other hand, where the districts have been occupied by different branches of the same race speaking different dialects, the generic terms exhibit the dialectic differences when the sounds of the word are such as to require the dialectic change: thus *pen* and *kin*, a head; *gwyn* and *fionn*, white. The comparison of the generic terms which pervade the topography of a country affords a very important means of indicating the race of its early inhabitants, and discriminating between the different branches of the race to which the respective portions of it belong.

Between the Celtic and Teutonic races the generic terms afford this great leading distinction, that in Celtic names they are invariably found at the beginning of the word; in Teutonic names at the end of the word: thus Glenesk in Celtic is Eskdale in Teutonic, Dunedin is Edinburgh, Achindarroch is Oakfield, and so forth. In the one the generic term is at the beginning of the word, in the other at the end.

It was early observed that there existed in the Celtic

generic terms a difference which seemed to indicate dialectic distinction. Even in the old statistical account the minister of the parish of Kirkaldy remarked :

“To the Gaelic language a great proportion of the names of places in the neighbourhood, and, indeed, through the whole of Fife may unquestionably be traced. All names of places beginning with Bal, Col or Cul, Dal, Drum, Dun, Inch, Inver, Auchter, Kil, Kin, Glen, Mon, and Strath, are of Gaelic origin. Those beginning with Aber and Pit are supposed to be Pictish names, and do not occur beyond the territory which the Picts are thought to have inhabited.”

Chalmers states it still more broadly and minutely. He says :

“Of those words which form the chief compounds in many of the Celtic names of places in the Lowlands, some are exclusively British, as Aber, Llan, Caer, Pen, Cors, and others ; some are common to both British and Irish, as Carn, Craig, Crom, Bre, Dal, Eaglis, Glas, Inis, Rinn, Ros, Strath, Tor, Tom, Glen ; and many more are significant only in the Scots-Irish or Gaelic, as Ach, Ald, Ard, Aird, Auchter, Bar, Blair, Ben, Bog, Clach, Corry, Cul, Dun, Drum, Fin, Glac, Inver, Kin, Kil, Knoc, Larg, Lurg, Lag, Logie, Lead, Lethir, Lon, Loch, Meal, Pit, Pol, Stron, Tullach, Tullie, and others.”

This attempt at classification is, however, exceedingly inaccurate. Two of the words in the first class, Llan and Caer, are common to both British and Irish ; and a large portion of the third class are significant in pure Irish as well as in the Scots-Irish or Gaelic. No attempt is made to shew by the geographical distribution of these words in what part of the country the respective elements prevail.

In a recent work, however, of some pretension, by an eminent Gaelic scholar, this attempt is made ; and I refer to it to shew how very loosely popular ideas on this subject are taken up. He says “the Blackadder and Whiteadder contain distinctly the British *dwfr* or *dwr* (water).” The two names are Teutonic, and have obviously no Celtic form. “In East Lothian, *yester* is the old British word *ystrad* (a valley).” This is correct, but

it is on British ground. "Tranent and Traquair have the British *tre* (a town)." The old form is Travernent and Traverquair, and *traver* is unknown in Welsh topography. "On crossing the Forth, British names still appear, nowhere more clearly than in the name of the Ochill Hills, where the British *uchel* (high) cannot be mistaken." This is phonetic etymology; and, as we shall see, it has been mistaken. "In Fife we find several Abers, Pits, and Pittens, indicating the existence of a British population"; and again, "the Pits and Pittens of Forfarshire are numerous." Of the Abers we shall talk presently. But if the Pits and Pittens indicate a British population, how comes it that they are unknown in Wales, and are not to be found in Welsh topography?

"We have," says he, "Pens and Abers and Pits in abundance on through Kincardine and Aberdeenshire." Abers and Pits certainly; but no Pens, except in one solitary instance, which is doubtful.

I need not proceed. The statement goes on in the same strain, at equal variance with topographical and philological facts.

The most popular view of the subject, and that which has recently been most insisted on, is the line of demarcation between a Kymric and a Gaelic population, supposed to be indicated by the occurrence of the words *Aber* and *Inver*. This view has been urged with gr \acute{e} at force by Kemble in his *Anglo-Saxons*; but I may quote the recent work by Mr. Isaac Taylor on *Words and Places*, as containing a fair statement of the popular view of the subject:

"To establish the point that the Picts, or the nation, whatever was its name, that held central Scotland was Cymric, not Gaelic, we may refer to the distinction already mentioned between *ben* and *pen*. *Ben* is confined to the west and north; *pen* to the east and south. *Inver* and *Aber* are also useful test-words in discriminating between the two branches of the Celts. The difference between the two words is dialectic only; the etymology and the meaning are the same,—a confluence of waters, either of two rivers, or of a river with the sea. *Aber* occurs repeatedly in Brittany, and is found in about fifty Welsh

names, as ABERDARE, ABERGAVENNY, ABERGELE, ABERYST-WITH, and BARMOUTH, a corruption of Abermau. In England we find *Aberford* in Yorkshire, and *Berwick* in Northumberland and Sussex; and it has been thought that the name of the HUMBER is a corruption of the same root. *Inver*, the Erse and Gaelic form, is common in Ireland, where *Aber* is unknown. Thus we find places called INVER in Antrim, Donegal, and Mayo; and INVERMORE in Galway and in Mayo. In Scotland the *Invers* and *Abers* are distributed in a curious and instructive manner. If one draw a line across the map from a point a little south of Inverary to one a little north of Aberdeen, we shall find that (with very few exceptions) the *Invers* lie to the north of the line, and the *Abers* to the south of it. This line nearly coincides with the present southern limit of the Gaelic tongue, and probably also with the ancient division between the Picts and the Scots."—Pp. 258-9.

Nothing can be more inaccurate than this statement with regard to Ben and Pen. Ben is by no means confined to the west and north; and as examples of Pen, he refers, among others, to the Pentland Hills; Pentland being a Saxon word, and corrupted from Pictland, and to Pendreich in Perthshire, which is a corruption from Pettindreich.

So far from Inver being common in Ireland, it is very rare. The "Index Locorum" of the *Annals* of the four Masters shews only six instances. On the other hand, Aber is not unknown in Ireland. It certainly existed formerly, to some extent, in the north of Ireland, and Dr. Reeves produces four instances near Ballyshannon.

The statement with regard to the distribution of Aber and Inver in Scotland here is, that there is a line of demarcation which separates the two words; that, with few exceptions, there is nothing but Invers on one side of this line, nothing but Abers on the other; and that this line extends from a point a little south of Inverary to a point a little north of Aberdeen. This is the mode in which the distribution of these two words is usually represented; but nothing can be more perfectly at variance with the real state of the case. South of this line there are as many Invers as Abers. In Perthshire, south of the Highland line, there are nine Abers and

eight Invers; in Fifeshire, four Abers and three Invers; in Forfarshire, eight Abers and eight Invers; in Aberdeenshire, thirteen Abers and twenty-six Invers. Again, on the north side of this supposed line of demarcation, where it is said that Invers alone should be found, there are twelve Abers extending across to the west coast till they terminate with Abercrossan, now Applecross, in Ross-shire. In Argyllshire alone there are no Abers. The true picture of the distribution of these two words is,—in Argyllshire, Invers alone; in Inverness and Ross-shires, Invers and Abers in the proportion of three to one and two to one; and on the south side of the supposed line, Abers and Invers in about equal proportions. Again he says, quoting Chalmers, “the process of change is shown by an old charter in which King David grants to the monks of May ‘Inverin qui fuit Aberin.’ So Abernethy became Invernethy, although the old name is now restored.” In order to produce the antithesis of Inverin and Aberin one letter in this charter has been altered. The charter is a grant of “Petneweme et Inverin quæ fuit Aøerin”; and I have the authority of the first charter antiquary in Scotland for saying that this construction is impossible. “*Quæ fuit*” does not here mean “which was,” but “which belonged to”; and Aøerin was the name of the previous proprietor of the lands. Abernethy and Invernethy are not the same place, and the former never lost its name. Invernethy is at the junction of the Nethy with the Earn, and Abernethy is a mile further up the river.

When we examine these Abers and Invers more closely, we find that in some parts of the country they appear to alternate, as in Fife, Inverkeithing, Aberdour, Inverryne, Abercrombie, Inverlevin, and so forth; and secondly, that some of the Invers and Abers have the same specific terms attached to them as Abernethy and Invernethy, Aberuchill and Inveruchill, Abercrumbyn and Invercrumbyn, Abergeldie and Invergeldy; and thirdly, that the Invers are always at the mouth of the river, close to its junction with another river or with the

sea ; and the Abers usually a little distance up the river, where there is a ford : thus Invernethy is at the mouth of the Nethy ; Abernethy a mile or two above. These and other facts lead to the conclusion that they are part of the same nomenclature, and belong to the same period and to the same people.

When we look to the south of the Forth, however, we find this remarkable circumstance, that in Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, and Lanarkshire, which formed the possessions of the Strathclyde Britons, and was occupied by a British people till as late a period as the more northern districts were occupied by the Picts, there are no Abers at all. What we have, therefore, are the Scots of Argyll with nothing but Invers, the Picts with Abers and Invers together, and the Strathclyde Britons with no Abers.

As a mark of discrimination between races, this criterion plainly breaks down, and the words themselves contain no sounds which form the different phonetic laws of the languages, and afford no indication of a dialectic difference. The truth is, that there were three words expressive of the junction of one stream with another, and all formed from an old Celtic word, *ber*, signifying "water". These were Aber, Inver, and Conber ; pronounced in Welsh *cummer*, in Gaelic *cumber*. These three words were originally common to both branches of the Celtic, as derivatives from one common word. In old Welsh poems we find not only Aber as a living word in Welsh, but Ynver likewise ;¹ and Dr. Reeves notices an Irish document in which Applecross or Appurcrossan is called Conber Crossan. Ynver, however, became obsolete in Welsh, just as Cummer or Cumber and Aber became obsolete in Irish ; but we have no reason to know that it did so in Pictish. In the Pictish dialects, therefore, the Abers and Invers were deposited when both were living words in the language. When the Scots settled in Argyll, Aber had become obsolete in their language, and Inver was alone

¹ *Ynver* occurs twice in the *Book of Taliessin*.

deposited; and in Strathclyde both words seem to have gone into desuetude.

In the same manner Dwfr, or Dwr, is quoted as a word for "water," peculiar to the Welsh form of Celtic, and an invariable mark of the presence of a British people; but the old form of this word in Scotland was Doboir, as appears from the *Book of Deir*, where Aberdour is written Abherdoboir; and in Cormac's glossary of the old Irish, Doboir is given as an old Irish word for "water". In another old Irish glossary we have this couplet:

"Bior and An and Dobar,
Three names of the water of the world."

These words, therefore, form no criterion of difference of race; and to judge by them is to fall into the mistake of the phonetic etymologists, viz., to apply to old names, as the key, the present spoken language, which does not contain words which yet existed in it in its older form.

In order to make generic terms a test of dialect, they must be words which contain sounds affected differently by the different phonetic laws of such dialects, such as Pen, Gwastad, Gwern, and Gwydd, which all enter copiously into Welsh topography; and the equidialects of which in the Gaelic dialects are Ken, Fearn, and Fiodh, Gwastad having no equivalent. Such generic terms afford a test by which we can at once determine whether the Celtic topography of a country partakes most of the Kymric or the Gaelic character.

The earliest collection of names in North Britain is to be found in Ptolemy's geography, in the second century; but we know too little of the origin of his names, whether they were native terms, or names applied by the invaders, to obtain from them any certain result. After Ptolemy, the largest collection of names in Great Britain is in the work of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna,—a work of the seventh century. The exact localities are not given; but the names are grouped according to the part of Britain to which they belong.

Those which commence the topography of Scotland are placed under this title,—“*Iterum sunt civitates in ipsa Britannia quæ recto tramite de una parte in alia id est de oceano in oceano existunt ac dividunt in tertia portione ipsam Britanniam.*” They commence with the stations on the Roman wall between the Tyne and the Solway, and then proceed northwards. Among those we find two names together, Tadoriton and Maporiton; and as Tad and Map are Kymric forms for “father” and “son,” we have no doubt that here we are on the traces of a Kymric population. The next group is arranged under this head, “*Iterum sunt civitates in ipsa Britannia recto tramite una alteri conexæ ubi et ipsa Britannia plus angustissima de oceano in oceano esse dinoscitur.*”

This part of Britain which is “plus angustissima,” is the isthmus between the Forth and the Clyde; and in proceeding with the names northwards, we come to one called Cindocellum. The “Ocelli Montes” were the Ochills; and here the Gaelic form of “kin” is equally unmistakable.

In the twelfth century, the chartularies have preserved some charters which contain the names of places, accompanied by an interpretation of the meaning of them. One bears upon the topography of Moray. It is a charter by Alexander II to the monks of Kinloss, of the lands Burgyn (now Burgy), and has attached to it an old interpretation. “Rune Pictorum” is glossed the “Pechts fields”; and *raoin* is Gaelic for “field.” “*Tuberna crumkel ane well with ane thrawen mouth.*” *Tobar* is “well” in Gaelic; *crom*, “crooked”; and *beul*, for which *kel* is probably written by mistake, is “mouth.” *Tubernafein*, of the “grett or kempis men, called ffeinis ane well.”

In a perambulation of the marches of Monymusk by Malcolm IV, we have several such interpretations. *Coritobrich* is glossed *vallis fontis*. *Corre* is Gaelic for “valley”; and *tobar*, “well.”

“*Seleuemingorne, mora caprarum.*” *Sliabh*, Gaelic for “moor”; and *gabhar*, “goat.”

"Aldeclothi rivulus petrosus." *Ault*, Gaelic for a "stream"; *clachach*, stony. "Breacachach campus distinctis coloribus." *Breacach*, striped; *ach*, field.

In a perambulation of the marches of Kingoldrum in 1256, we have names which are also glossed in a subsequent charter. Invercrumbyn is said to be the "concursum duorum amnium, Melgour et Crumbyn." "Monybrek murras of the quhilk runs ane strype." *Monadh*, a moss; *breac*, striped. Pool of Monboy,—yellow pool. *Buidh*, yellow; *athyncroich*, gallowburn, from *ald* burn; *croich*, gallows.

Thus on three points in the north-eastern Lowlands, in Morayshire, in Aberdeenshire, and in Forfarshire, we find, as early as the thirteenth century, the local names interpreted in Gaelic. The names themselves are, too, in the Scotch Gaelic, not in the Irish form; and in most cases we find the dental substituted for the guttural, as *clothi* for *clachada*. When we apply to the present topography the testing words, *pen*, *gwynn*, and *gwydd*, the Gaelic equivalents of which are *kin*, *feam*, and *fordh*, we find that, with one exception, *pen*, though frequent south of the Forth, where there was a British population, does not occur north of the Forth, while it is full of *kings*; and *gwern* and *gwydd* occur only in their Gaelic equivalents.

Such, then, being the aspect in which the question really presents itself, it becomes important, with a view to ethnological results, to ascertain more closely the geographical distribution of the generic terms over Scotland; and in order to shew this, I have prepared a table of such distribution. The generic terms are taken from the index to the *Record of Retours*; and as this *Record* relates to properties, not to mere natural objects, the generic terms they contain are, to a great extent, confined to names of places connected with their possession by man, and more readily affected by changes in the population.

For the purpose of comparison I have framed a list of generic terms contained in Irish topography, from the

index to the *Annals* of the four Masters ; and of those in Welsh topography, from a list in the *Cambrian Register*. I have divided Scotland into thirteen districts, so as to shew the local character of the topography of each part of Scotland ; and opposite each generic term in Scotch topography is marked—1st, if it occurs in Ireland, and how often ; 2nd, if it occurs in Wales ; and 3rd, I have marked the number of times it occurs in each district of Scotland, from the index of *Retours*.

On examining this table it will be seen that there are five terms peculiar to the districts occupied by the Picts. These are, Auchter, Pit, Pitten, For, and Fin. Now none of these five terms are to be found in Welsh topography at all, and For and Fin are obviously Gaelic forms. It is necessary, however, in examining these terms, which may be called Pictish, to ascertain their old forms. Auchter appears to be the Gaelic Uchter (upper), and as such we have it in Ireland, and in the same form, as in Scotland, Ochtertire ; in Ireland, Uachtertire. It does not occur in Wales. The old form of Pit and Pitten, as appears from the *Book of Deer*, is Pette ; and it seems to mean a portion of land, as it is conjoined with proper names, as Pette mic Garnait, Pette Malduib ; but it also appears connected with Gaelic specific terms, as Pette an Mulenn (the pette of the mill) ; and in a charter in the chartulary of St. Andrew's, of the church of Migvy, the "terra ecclesiæ" is said to be "vocatus Pettentaggart," *an tagart* being the Gaelic form of the expression, "of the priest."

The old form of For and Fin are Fothuir and Fothern ; the old form of Forteviot is Fothuirtabaicht ; and of Finhaven is Fothernevin. The first of these words, however, discloses a very remarkable dialectic difference. Fothuir becomes For, as Fothuirtabaicht is Forteviot, and Fothuirduin is Fordun ; but Fothuir likewise passes into Fetter, as Fothuiressach becomes Fettereso ; and these two forms are found side by side, Fordun and Fetteressobeing adjacent parishes. The form of For extends from the Forth to the Moray Firth ; that of Fetter from the Esk,

which separates Forfar and Kincardine, to the Moray Firth; and the original term, Fothuir, thus passes into the soft form, For, and is also hardened into Fetter.

An examination of some other generic terms will disclose a perfectly analogous process of change. The name for a "river" is *amhuin*. The word is the same as the Latin *amnis*. The old Gaelic form is *amuin*; and the *m* by aspiration becomes *mh*, whence *amhuin*. In the oldest form of the language the consonants are not aspirated. But we have the two forms, both the old, unaspirated form, and the more recent aspirated form, in one topography, lying side by side in the two parallel rivers which bound Linlithgowshire, the Amond and the Avon. There is also the Amond in Perthshire. We know from the *Pictish Chronicle* that the old name was Aman; and the Avon, with its aspirated *m*, is mentioned in the *Saxon Chronicle*. It is a further proof that Inver is as old as Aber in the eastern districts, that we find Aman in its old form conjoined with Inver in the *Pictish Chronicle*, in the name Inveraman.

In Dumbartonshire we find the names Lomond and Leven together. We have Loch Lomond and Ben Lomond, with the river Leven flowing out of the Loch through Strathleven; but we have the same names in connexion in Fifeshire, where we have Loch Leven with the two Lomonds on the side of it, and the river Leven flowing from it through Strathleven. This recurrence of the same words in connexion would be unaccountable were it not an example of the same thing. Leven comes from the Gaelic *Leamhan*, signifying an "elm tree"; but the old form is *Leoman*, of which Lomond is a corruption; and the *m* becomes aspirated in a later stage of the language, and forms *Leamhan*,—pronounced Leven. Here the old form adheres to the mountain, while the river adopts the more modern.

A curious illustration of two different terms lying side by side, which are derived from the same word, undergoing different changes, will be found in Forfarshire, where the term *llan*, for a church, appears, as in Lan-

trethin. It is a phonetic law between Latin and Celtic, that words beginning in the former with *pl*, are in the latter double *ll*. The word *planum* in Latin, signifying any cultivated spot, in contradistinction from any desert spot, and which according to Ducange came to signify *cimiterium*, becomes in Celtic *llan*, the old meaning of which was a fertile spot as well as a church. In the inquisition in the reign of David I, into the possessions of the see of Glasgow, we find the word in its oldest form in the name Planmichael, now Carmichael; and as we find Ballin corrupted into Ban, as Ballinloch becomes Bandoch, so Plan becomes corrupted into Pan, and we find it in this form in Forfarshire, in Panmure and Panbride. In the Lothians and the Merse this word has become Long, as in Longnewton, Longniddrie. The Celtic topography of Scotland thus resembles a palimpsest, in which an older form is found behind the more modern writing.

I shall not lengthen this paper by going through other examples. The existence of the phenomenon is sufficiently indicated by those I have brought forward, and I shall conclude by stating shortly the results of my investigation.

1st.—In order to draw a correct inference from the names of places, as to the ethnological character of the people who imposed them, it is necessary to obtain the old form of the name before it became corrupted, and to analyse it according to the philological laws of the language to which it belongs.

2nd.—A comparison of the generic terms affords the best test for discriminating between the different dialects to which they belong; and for this comparison it is necessary to have a correct table of their geographical distribution.

3rd.—Difference between the generic terms in different parts of the country may arise from their belonging to a different stage of the same language, or from a capricious selection of different synonyms by different tribes.

4th.—In order to afford a test for discriminating

between dialects, the generic terms must contain within them those sounds which are differently affected by the phonetic laws of each dialect.

5th.—Applying this test, the generic terms do not shew the existence of a Kymric language north of the Forth.

6th.—We find in the topography of the north-east of Scotland traces of an older and of a more recent form of Gaelic: the one preferring labials and dentals, and the other gutturals; the one hardening the consonants into tenues, the other softening them by aspiration: the one having Abers and Invers, and the other having Invers alone: the one a low Gaelic dialect, the other a high Gaelic dialect: the one, I conceive, the language of the Picts, the other that of the Scots.

WILLIAM F. SKENE.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PARISH OF LLAN-CARVAN, GLAMORGANSHIRE.

(Continued from p. 276.)

HISTORY.

LLANCARVAN holds an honourable place in the history of the principality; and, while equal to Llantwit in sanctity, is its superior in the annals of Welsh literature. The monastery and college of Lllancarvan date at least from the sixth century. Its celebrated abbot, St. Cadoc, has obtained, and seems to have deserved, a very high rank in the Welsh hagiology, and Caradoc of Lllancarvan is the author of the well-known *Brut-y-Tywysogion* or "Chronicle of the Princes", the basis of the most authentic history of Wales. There is, moreover, great reason to believe that Walter de Mapes, the jovial and literary Archdeacon of Oxford in the reign of Henry II, was an inhabitant of the parish, and gave to the

hamlet of Trev-Walter or Walterston the designation which it has since borne.

The monastery, which, like many other early establishments, was at once a place of devotion or "Chorea Sanctorum", and a school of sound learning for the young, is generally attributed to St. German, who is said to have founded it to counteract the prevailing pelagianism of the district, strong in the name and heresy of Morgan. In evidence of this the Carvan book has been held to preserve the name of Garvan, Garman, or German, and certainly the name, though found in Gwent, is peculiar, and not common among those of Celtic streams. It is upon this attribution to St. German that Llancarvan claims to be a foundation of the fifth century, the earliest monastery in Britain, and to have preceded its most ancient see. Some, however, have denied the claims of St. German and the etymology of the brook, and attribute the foundation to Dubricius, a saint and prelate of the latter part of the sixth century, while others again regard as the founder, Cadoc, a contemporary of Dubricius, and if not the founder, the successor of that prelate in the abbacy of Llancarvan.

Cadoc or Cadmail, better known to Welshmen as Cattwg, was the eldest son of Gwynlliw Filwr, Lord of Glamorgan, son of Glywys, a prince of Dyfed, son of Tegid, son of Cadell-Dyrnllwg. His mother was Gwladis, a daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog, who was wooed and won by Gwynlliw after a rough and warlike fashion, and with a degree of energy not wanting in the character of their son. Gwynlliw, Glywys, and Brychan, are reputed to have left their names to the three tracts of Gwentloog, Glywysyg or Glamorgan, and Brecknock, in that popular system which derives the names of places from persons instead of from their physical circumstances or peculiarities.

Gwynlliw, himself a saint, but more wealthy than saint beseems, was Lord of the lands from Ffynnon-Hên, supposed to be on the Usk, to the Rhyminy, and from the Golych west to Dawon or Aberthaw river,

and from Pentyrch southwards to Nant-Carvan and Gwy-Rymi, thought to be the Sully brook. Much of this territory seems to have descended to St. Cadoc, nine of whose ten uncles were also wealthy, three of them having the districts of Penycher east of the Tawe, Gornwydd or Gronedd now Groneath, and Margam.

Cadoc, whom Tanner regards as having founded Lllancarvan about A.D. 500, is said to have been baptised by the Irish Tathan, whose name is preserved in an adjacent village, and to have been educated by him in the school of Caerwent, at that time, without doubt, a considerable place. The valley of the Carvan seems, however, always to have been regarded as his home, and he is even said to have named the stream Nant Carvan or the Brook of Stags, because while engaged upon the monastery two stags assisted him in dragging a beam.

The actual seat of the monastery has always been supposed to be Llanveithen, called also Bangor Garmon and Bangor Cattwg, a tradition said to be strengthened by its extraparochial character which, however, it most probably derived from its later connexion with Margam, and by its ancient cemetery and the chapel of St. Meuthin, all vestiges which have, however, long since disappeared.

The monastery became famous, and Cattwg is said to have founded there three cells, and two in the Vale of Nedd, and to have counted his monks and scholars by hundreds if not by thousands.

The legends of St. Cadoc are disfigured with many most improbable fables, which, however, prove his after popularity. Of his death no account remains. He was of kin to St. Iltyd, the founder of Llantwit. He is said to have resigned his abbacy or headship of Lllancarvan, but his fame survives in the churches of Cadoxton by Neath, and Cadoxton by Barry, named after him, and in those of Lllancarvan, Gelligaer, Pendoylon, Pentyrch, Llanmaes, and Port-Eynon, of which he is the patron. His name is not without honour in Brecknock and Monmouth, though there, as in Caermarthen, it has

been confounded with one if not two other saints of the same name, but of date a century earlier.

Among his countrymen Cadoc is also known as "Cattwg Ddoeth" or "The Wise", this reputation being founded upon certain sayings or aphorisms duly recorded in the *Myvyrian Archæology*. The triads enumerate him as one of Arthur's three upright knights, wise counsellors, and just judges.

The annals of Llancarvan, or rather notices concerning it, are recorded in the *Liber Landavensis*.

A.D. 560 or 597, the Abbot "Carbani vallis" was present at an ecclesiastical council, at which the pains of excommunication were denounced by the Bishop of Llandaff upon King Meuric for the death of Cynvelin.

Towards the end of the seventh century Llancarvan witnessed a very solemn event, the particulars of which are related at length in the same record.

It appears that Morgan Regulus of Glamorgan and Frioc his uncle, in the church of Llantwit and upon the relics upon its altar, in the presence of Bishop Oudoceus, a warm patron of Llancarvan, and of the three abbots of St. Cadoc or Carvan, Iltyd or Llantwyd, and Docunni, with their congregations, swore peace toward each other, with the stipulation that if one should, nevertheless, kill the other, he should not seek redemption by land or money, but should resign his kingdom and pass his life in pilgrimage.

The case provided for actually occurred. Morgan killed his uncle, and then came to Oudoceus at Llandaff for pardon.

The case was difficult, for Morgan was essential to the peace of his district. Oudoceus, therefore, summoned his clergy from the Towy to the Wye to a synod at Llancarvan. There, within the limits of the holy house, the penitent king, accompanied by the elders of Glamorgan, met the bishop and his clergy, to receive judgment and make satisfaction for his crime.

The synod, having regard to the need of the kingdom, decided to dispense with the resignation and pilgrim

life, and to allow their monarch by fasting, prayer, and giving of alms, to atone for his perjury and murder.

The ceremonial appears to have been impressive, and must long have been remembered in that quiet valley. Morgan, with the assent of the elders of his kingdom, placed his hand upon the four gospels and the relics of the saints, within the hand of Oudoceus. In this solemn position, and with a stricken conscience, the king vowed before God to amend his life, to clear himself of the past by fasting prayer and almsgiving, never again to do the like, and to dispense justice tempered with mercy to all. The terms of a penance, suited to his crime, rank, riches, and power, were next declared and, finally, he was again admitted to the Holy Communion.

The king, thus reconciled to the church, declared his offering.

He gave to the church of Llandaff, as represented by God, St. Dubricius, St. Teilo, and Oudoceus, the three congregations of Cadoc, Iltyd, and Docunni, free from all regal service, with all their dignity, and the privilege of St. Dubricius and St. Teilo, in perpetual consecration to the church of Llandaff, and the vessel of honey and the pot of iron, which was his due from the church of St. Iltyd, he gave up for ever.

Further, in the presence of the bishop and the three congregations, he vowed to God and to Oudoceus never to exercise government over the congregations, or their possessions, never to violate their sanctuaries, nor by violence nor by evil desire knowingly to diminish their lands. And thus, with a curse upon him who should violate the oath, and a blessing on him who should observe it in peace, the ceremony ended, witness having been duly recorded by the clergy and laity there present.

It may fairly be supposed that King Morgan rode up the Carvan on that day with a lighter heart than he had ridden down, and having regard to the violence of the man and the superstition of the age, it would probably have been difficult to have devised a ceremonial better suited to the occasion, or more likely to secure peace to the community. (*Lib. Land.*, p. 396.)

The succession of abbots of Llancarvan, though not altogether unchallenged, has been far better preserved than that of their successors, the vicars. The names on record are in the *Liber Landavensis*. Supposing Dubricius and Cadoc to be the first and second, they are :

Cyngen, abbot of Cadmael				
Jacob, abbot of St. Cadoc, or of the altar of				
St. Cadoc				
Sulien, abbot of Nantcarvan				
Cyngen, abbot of Carvan Valley				
Sulien	"	"	"	
Cyngen	"	"	"	
Dagan	"	"	"	
Sulien	"	"	"	
Danog	"	"	"	
Gnouan	"	"	"	
Sulien	"	"	"	
Dagan	"	"	"	
Elisael	"	"	"	Trychan and Cerenhir, bishops.

The above names almost always occur in conjunction with the abbots of St. Iltyd and Docunni, next after the bishops, and above the other ecclesiastics of the diocese. The records, of the date of Bishop Herwald (1056-1104), make mention of the following :

Sedd, presbyter of St. Cadoc	.	.	.	Joseph, bishop
Joseph, reader of Cadoc	.	.	.	Herwald, bishop
Aidan, priest of Cadoc	.	.	.	" "
Lyfric, son of Bishop Herwald, archdeacon	.	.	.	" "
and master of St. Cadoc at Llancarvan	.	.	.	" "
Aidan, priest of St. Cadoc	.	.	.	" "
Gwrgi, as above	.	.	.	" "
Lyfric, as above	.	.	.	" "
Aidan, as above	.	.	.	" "
Joseph, doctor of Cadoc	.	.	.	" "
Gwrgi, as above	.	.	.	" "

The same records mention that "Merchiawn, son of Rhydderch and Angharad," gave to Bishop Gwgan (latter part of the tenth century), "by hereditary right abbot of the dignity of the church of St. Cadoc at Llancarvan, the two brothers Gustin and Ebba, with their

paternal inheritance, and a capture of fishes, and with all their liberty," etc. (Ibid., p. 506.)

According to the Iolo MSS. (p. 364), Einydd ap Morgan Mwynfawr, king of Glamorgan, was a contributor to the church of St. Cadoc at Llanancarvan.

The reputed wealth, equalling at one time the sanctity of Llanancarvan, was not without its inconveniencies. Anno 987, the Danish rovers, in their way from the west along the South Welsh coast, devastated this monastery, with those of Llantwit, Cyngar, and Llandaff. (*Brut y Tys.*, p. 38.) On the other hand, the choir of Llanveithen gave shelter to Idwal ap Meyric, a pupil of Hywel ap Morgan Mawr, and a successful leader against the Danes. The choir, however, seems to have suffered from all parties; and was broken into not only by Danes and Saxons, but by Einon and Meredith, the sons of Owain, native Welshmen, who should have had more regard for the holy places of their sires.

Very little is known of the condition of the Welsh church, and especially of the Welsh monasteries and colleges, under the early Norman rule. Some, possibly, were secularised; but usually they seem to have retained somewhat of their religious character, and to have been attached to some English or Anglo-Welsh foundation. But though this was the case with Llanancarvan, which became subordinate to the abbeys of Gloucester, Tewksbury, and Margam, its ancient glories were not readily to be eclipsed, and under the expiring influences of the ancient monastery arose an author such as those later and far wealthier foundations have never been able to boast.

There was a certain Llevoed "Wynebglawr", or "with the flat face," who was domestic bard to Griffith ap Morgan ap Iestyn, whose possessions lay in South Wales. Llevoed was born at Brecon about 1050, and was father of CARADOC, who took service in the same family. Iestyn is generally reputed to have married early, to have begotten an extraordinary number of children, and to have lived to a very great age. Hence it is possible that

Caradoc, the son of the servant of Iestyn's grandson, may yet, as recorded, have served under that prince before the conquest of Glamorgan. He is said, having commenced life under Iestyn, to have fought against him under Griffith ap Rhys; and finally, having turned against that prince also, to have entered upon a monastic career in the service of St. Teilo at Llandaff, and as priest of the desolate church of St. Kenydd. At this period of his life it probably was that he resided at Lllancarvan, and acquired the designation by which he has since been known. Other accounts make Lllancarvan his birth-place. At Lllancarvan he probably became acquainted with Walter de Mapes, whose connexion with that place was intimate, as well as with Geoffrey of Monmouth, the translator into Latin of the *British History*, said to have been brought over from Armorica by Walter. Wishing to render the *History* more complete, Geoffrey is said to have applied to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon to write the account of the English kings, and to Caradoc of Lllancarvan for those of Wales. This Caradoc unquestionably executed in the well known *Brut-y-Twsogion*, or "Chronicle of the Princes," bringing their history down to his own death, reputed to have taken place in 1156; since which the volume has been translated, edited, and continued by Price, Humphrey, Lloyd, Dr. David Powell (1684), and Wynne (1697-1704), and still remains the standard history of the Principality.

Such information as has been collected relating to the secular history of Lllancarvan will find an appropriate place under the descent of its constituent manors; its ecclesiastical history is chiefly connected with the monastery of St. Peter at Gloucester, the history and cartulary of which have been ably edited, and are now in course of publication, by Mr. W. H. Hart, under the auspices of the Master of the Rolls.

It seems probable that, upon the Norman conquest of Glamorgan, the old Welsh foundation was at once annexed to Gloucester, for it is recorded in the cartulary

(*Hist. et Cart. Monas. Glouc.*, i, 93) that "Robert Fitz Hamon gave to God and to the church of St. Peter at Gloucester the church of St. Cadoc at Lllancarvan, and Penhon [being] fifteen hides of land, in the time of Abbot Serlo, King William confirming the gift." Fitz Hamon entered Glamorgan in 1091, and died in March 1107; and Serlo was abbot of St. Peter's from 1072 to his death, 3rd March, 1104; so that the donation must have been granted between 1091 and 1104, or perhaps 1102, in which year the *Annals of Tewkesbury* place the death of Abbot Serlo. In 1106, Henry I, holding the honour of Gloucester during the minority of the daughter of Fitz Hamon, granted by charter to Tewkesbury Abbey the tithes of the land held by the abbot of Gloucester in Lllancarvan; which grant was long afterwards confirmed by an *Insuperimus* of Edward I, and again in the 10 Henry IV. (*New Monasticon*, ii, 66.) The church of St. Cadoc is also mentioned in the Bull of Calixtus, addressed to Urban, bishop of Llandaff, in 1119; and of Honorius II, addressed to the same bishop, in 1128.

A charter of King Stephen in 1136, reciting and confirming certain grants to Gloucester Abbey, declares "also the church of St. Cadoc of Lllancarvan, with the land which is called Treigo (Tregoff), the gift of Robert Fitz Hamon." (*N. Mon., in loco.*)

Robert, son of Henry I, and earl of Gloucester from before 1119 to his death in 1147, gave or confirmed "Treygof to the church of Gloucester." The same Robert gave to the monks of St. Peter, Gloucester, Treygoff, and Penhon, with other its appurtenances. (*Hist. et Cart. Monast. Glouc.*, i, 115.) The same grant is recorded more fully in the abbey cartulary,—“Robert, the king's son, Consul of Gloucester, to Wthred, bishop of Llandaff, and Robert Norris, vice-comes of Glamorgan, and to all his barons and friends and faithful ones, French, English, and Welsh, health: Know that I, for my soul's health, and that of the Countess Mabel, and of my predecessors and successors, have given and granted, and by this present charter confirmed, in pure and perpe-

tual alms, to the church of St. Peter at Gloucester, the abbot and monks of the same, the vill of Treigoff with the land of Pennune, and all other their appurtenances; and in like manner the church of Llancarvan, with all lands and tithes to it belonging, so fully and freely as to reserve for myself or my heirs nothing save only the offering of prayers," etc. (ii, 10.)

Mabel Countess of Gloucester, and Earl William, her son (1147-1173), in a charter to William Fitz Stephen, her constable, and others, confirm their ancestor's gift of the vill of Treigof, and the church of Llancarvan, and the land of Pennun, to the monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester. (ii, 50.)

There is also recorded a convention between the abbot of Gloucester and Dom. Robert Harding (29 Sept. 1146), setting forth that Harding had received the manor of Treygof, with the land of Pennun, etc., and the church of Llancarvan, with houses, curtilages, and tithes, for five years, for eighty pounds in silver, with power to the abbot to resume at any time on a repayment *pro rata*. Witnessed by William Earl of Gloucester and the whole *comitatus* of Cardiff. (ii, 139.)

A letter from Henry Bishop of Winton and legate, to Uchtred Bishop of Llandaff (1139-1148), states that chapels had been newly built in Llancarvan, contrary to the will of Gilbert [Foliot], abbot of Gloucester, and commands the bishop not to allow service in them, nor to suffer others to be built without the abbot's permission. (ii, 14.)

About 1153, Bishop Nicholas ap Gwrgan of Llandaff, probably on entering upon his see, set himself to restore the churches which had fallen into neglect since Iestyn's time. He restored its original sanctuary to Llancarvan, etc., and the demolished churches were rebuilt. (*Liber Land.*) This order about the Llancarvan chapels is supported by a similar letter from Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury (1138-1160). The new chapels are in no degree to trench upon the rights of the parish church, and to pay rigorously rent and tithe. (ii, 14.)

A letter from Bishop Nicholas (1153-1183) informs the faithful that Ralph archdeacon of Llandaff, has, in his presence, taken the church of St. Cadoc, at Lllancarvan, to be held under the abbot and convent of Gloucester at an annual rent of 60s., punctual payment, with strict power of reentering, and a covenant to render up the church key in case of non-payment. Ralph's oath to observe the stipulations is taken in the presence of the celebrated Gilbert [Foliot], Bishop of London, who repeats the terms and conditions in a general letter, also recorded in the cartulary. (ii, 11.)

The arrangement with archdeacon Ralph seems to have been accepted by his successor, for a letter (also general) from Bishop Nicholas states that Urban, archdeacon of Llandaff, has received from abbot Hamelin (1148-1175), of Gloucester, the keeping of the church of Lllancarvan with all its appurtenances, excepting the tithes of Traygof, for 60s. yearly; swearing to be faithful to the monastery, and punctually to pay the rent at Easter and Michaelmas (ii, 12). This lease or delegation was, however, resigned by the archdeacon, probably very soon afterwards; to which the bishop testifies by a letter (ii, 13); and then by another letter he informs J. Dean of Pennune, Walter de Mech', O. De Landr', and W. De St. Hillary, that William archdeacon of Llandaff has surrendered such right as he had (if he had any) in the church of Lllancarvan into the bishop's hands; and he directs them to go, on the Thursday following Easter, to that place, and on his part to give seisin to the messengers of the abbot and monks of Gloucester. The Cotton charter in the British Museum contains one from the same bishop (xi, 24), witnessed by "Magister Johannes et Radulfus de Lllancarban" and "Willielmus de Lllancarban, clericus." The same charter cites an earlier document in which the first two witnesses are described as "Radulfus Landavensis ecclesiæ et Magister Johannes, canonici." Also there is recorded the charter in which William Earl of Gloucester, for his soul's health, and that of Hawise his

countess, and Robert his son (*ob. s. p.*), etc., grants to God and the monks of Gloucester the manor of Treygof in Glamorgan, with the land of Pennun, and all other lands pertaining to the said manor; and the church of St. Cadoc of Llancarvan with its tithes, lands, and houses, and the gardens beyond the stream which divides the Cemetery from the said houses; and all, etc., in free alms (*Hist. et Cart. Glouc.*, ii, 140.) Also Abbot Gilbert (1139-1148) granted to Hugh and Robert his son, and Ralph son of Ralph, at Pennun and Llancarvan, all the land of their ancestor, Leoric the monk, with its meadows, etc., to be held by the same service under which Leoric and his ancestors held under their lords, the three swearing fidelity, etc. (ii, 138.)

Henry II, in a general confirmation of grants to St. Peter's, includes "the church of St. Cadoc of Llancarvan, with the land called Treygof, the gift of Robert Fitz Hamon" (i, 349). This is witnessed, among others, by William Earl of Gloucester, who died on St. Clement's night, Nov. 1173; and Richard Bishop of Winton, who became such 1 May, 1173; so that its date may be fixed at that year.

Among the witnesses to a confirmation charter by Henry Bishop of Llandaff, were two, "Magister Johannes et Radulfus de Llancarvan" and "Willielmus de Llancarvan, clericus."

Abbot Henry, either Blount or Foliot (about 1210-1242), gave to the brothers Cradok and John a lease of twelve acres, with a meadow and messuage, in Treygof, lying on the north of Pistellonde, at 2s. sterling annually. They were also to protect the abbey tenants in their way to and from cutting wood, and the cattle and pigs of the manor sent to the wood to feed, from the Welsh. They also did suit of court at Tregof; and they and all their heirs holding any part of the land, were to respond for heriots. The same cartulary contains a confirmation by Gilbert Earl of Gloucester and Herts (1226-1229), in which is enumerated "the manor of Traygof, in the county of Glamorgan, which they (the

monks) held, '*ab antiquo*', with its appurtenances and liberties". Llanclarvan itself is not mentioned (ii, 19).

There also is a deed by William Corbeth (or Corbet), knight, by which he waives, in favour of the abbot and convent of Gloucester, his right, and that of his heirs, to a messuage in Llanclarvan, receiving for this thirteen marks of silver (ii, 15). Sir William Corbet appears in the Spencer survey, 1320, as a land-owner in St. Nicholas and the neighbourhood.

Also John Abbot of Gloucester, confirms to Herewald, son of Habraham, and his heirs, three and a half acres of arable land, and half an acre of meadow with a garden, which he had from Emma de Cogan in the abbot's fee of Pennune (ii, 15). There are three abbots bearing the name of John, de Felda, de Gamages, and Thoky, who occur between about 1242 and 1329.

At the Reformation, much of the old ecclesiastical property in this part of Glamorgan was granted to the new cathedral establishment of Gloucester. Thus Henry VIII, 4 Sept., 33 H. viii, granted to the Dean and Chapter of the new college, "our manors of Tregoffe and Penon", which had belonged to the dissolved abbey. He also gave certain messuages in those manors, and the rectory and church of Llanclarvan late in the Abbey of Tewkesbury, with certain messuages attached. The Dean and Chapter of Gloucester became the recipients of the Glamorgan estates of the two abbeys, and for many centuries proved unprofitable and non-improving landlords.

THE MANORS.—LLANCARVAN.

Llanclarvan parish includes the manors of Llanclarvan proper, Carnllwyd, Llancadle, Llanveithen, Liege-Castle, Moulton, Penon, Treguff, and Walterston.

Llanclarvan manor appears to contain the hamlets of Llanclarvan and much of Llanbethéry. It appears not improbable that Carnllwyd, which is in the hamlet of Llanclarvan, may originally have been a part of the

manor, since from the earliest recorded date it has paid to it an annual chief rent of 3s. 6d.

The Iolo MSS. (p. 410) give Gweirydd ap Seisyll Hên as the Lord of Llancarvan and Penmark; but in truth nothing certain has been handed down as to the lords of these parishes or districts at the period preceding the Norman Conquest of the lordship. After that event the Umfrevilles and the St. Johns, lords of Penmark and Fonmon, and the two most powerful of the Norman residents in that district, seem to have held much of Llancarvan parish, and the former family no doubt held the manor, one of the earliest civil records connected with which is a charter from the Raleigh title deeds, printed by Sir W. C. Trevelyan in Hodgson's *Northumberland* (Part II, vol. i, p. 10.)

This is a gift by Henry de Humfraville to Brifin, son of Urban, of twenty acres of land, held by Urban under Sir Henry, near the cross which stands on the road between Llancarvan and Landili, between the two valleys, from the great road as far as the water of Carvan. Also one acre and a half of land, "*ad augmentum*", which lies between "Broad Fountain" and "Kilwent Ford", along the Carvan near "Seiveslad", to him and his heirs for 2s. per annum. The witnesses are Raymund de Sulie, Wm. de Reigni, Maurice de Cantilupe, Master Ralph Mailoc, Robert Samson, Thomas de Bodic, Adam Andelin, Roger son of Enegra, Henry de Bodic, Henry chief bailiff, etc. The seal is an hexapetalous flower for Humfraville, with the legend, SECRETUM HENRICI.

The position of this grant admits of identification. The cross is Payn's Cross, now Pencross, and Llandili must be Llancadle. Ralph Mailoc is evidently the Ralph Mailok who died 2 Cal. June 1231, having held in farm the church of Llanblethian under Tewkesbury Abbey, and whose son, nephew, or successor, Roger Mailok, in 1242, bullied the abbot out of an annuity. (*Ann. of Tewkesbury*, p. 124.)

William de Reigny, another of the witnesses, is one of a family who held under the honour of Gloucester,

and settled, probably early in the thirteenth century in the eastern part of the county. In the reign of Henry III they had the manors of Wrinston or Wrenchester in Wenvoe, Michaelston le Pit, and Lllancarvan, probably having acquired the latter from the Umfrevilles, with whom also they were connected by marriage through the family of Furneaux.

This family ended in Ela, heiress of Sir Milo de Reigny, who, before 16 Edward I, married Simon de Raleigh, of Nettlecombe, county Somerset. Their descendants held the manor for six generations. 6 April, 3 Henry V (1415), Simon de Raleigh conveyed to certain feoffees the manors of Mighelstowe, Wrencheston, and Lllancarvan, with the advowson of Mighelstowe. Joan de Raleigh, about 1450-60, married and conveyed the estates to Sir John de Whellesborough, a Cornish knight, and their son Thomas, recognised as right heir of Simon de Raleigh, died 1482, leaving Elizabeth Whellesborough, who married John Trevelyan, in her right of Nettlecombe and Wrinston, etc.

The Welsh property had been, on very unjust pretences, seized upon by the Duke of Suffolk, and in 1463 John Trevelyan points out to the duke, that his wife Elizabeth was the true owner of the manors of "Mighelstowe" and its advowson, of Lllancarvan, Lantewyte, and Wrygstone, which had always been in their blood.

Trevelyan forced his claim with boldness and persistency upon Edward IV and Henry VII, and at last he wrung out of John Duke of Suffolk a quit claim to the property, and himself got into actual as well as legal possession. Trevelyan died in 1493, and he or his family seem to have sold their Welsh estates, probably to the Herberts, Earls of Pembroke of the old blood, since a few years after the above transactions the manors are found to be the property of the Earl of Worcester, and 10 November, 2 Charles I, Lllancarvan, with others, and West Orchard, were the subject of a settlement on the marriage of Edward Lord Herbert with Lady Catherine Dormer.

Wrinston, Michaelston, and West Orchard, were forfeited to the Parliament on the attainder of the Marquis of Worcester, and were granted to Col. Horton's brigade for their services at St. Fagan's fight. The brigade sold them to Col. Philip Jones, who also took a conveyance of them, together with Llancarvan, from the Marquis, Lord Herbert his grandson, joining in the sale, and the latter manor is still the property of the Colonel's descendant, R. O. Jones, Esq., of Fonmon Castle, the present Lord also of Llancarvan.

HEOL-LAS OR GREENWAY, an old estate in Llancarvan Manor, so called from a bye-road on which it stands, occupies an exceedingly pretty position, north of the Cardiff and Cowbridge road, and near to Llantrithyd park. It is now a mere farm-house without any remains of antiquity about it. For some generations it was peopled by a branch of the Turberville family, and afterwards was possessed by their descendants in the female line.

The pedigree is exceedingly imperfect, but it begins with a certain—

I. DAVID Turberville, 3rd son of James Turberville of Sutton, by a daughter and coheir of Edward James of Llanedern, who was probably the father of—1, David; 2, — Turberville, ancestor of the Turbervilles of Watral (perhaps Whitwell), whose descendants intermarried with the Llewelyns of Stockland and had Hendresgythan in 1770.

II. DAVID Turberville of Heol-las, married Wenllian, daughter of Thomas Edward of Barnwell or Brimwall in Llancarvan, and had—1, *Edward*, a lawyer, who settled in Virginia, married there, and had issue; 2, *William s.p.*; 3, *David s.p.*; 4, *Elizabeth s.p.*; 5, *Catherine*, married Jenkin Gibbon of Prisk, and had issue; 6, *Mary*; 7, *Frances*, married Thomas Jenkins of Duffryn-lloff, in Pendoylon, and had—(a) *Evan Jenkins*; (b) *Mary*; (c) *Catherine*.

III. MARY Turberville, who had Heol-las or Greenway. She married Jenkin Richard, of Heol-y-March, in Welsh St. Donats, and had—

IV. RICHARD ap Jenkin, of Greenway married Alice,

daughter of the Rev. — Basset of Bonvileston, Rector of Bonvileston, St. Nicholas, and Peterston-super-Ely. They had—

V. WILLIAM Jenkins, A.M., Rector of Cadoxton-juxta-Barry, and Merthyr-Dovan. He had—1, Mary; 2, *Elizabeth*; 3, *Ann*.

VI. MARY Jenkins, probably the only surviving daughter, and heiress of Greenway, which she appears to have sold to Jenkin Williams, perhaps a kinsman. She married—1, — Samuel; and 2, Rev. — Thomas of St. Hilary.

I. JENKIN Williams, the purchaser of Greenway, was father of—1, William; 2, Edmund.

II. WILLIAM Williams *alias* William Jenkins, which name he took to please a wealthy wife. They had a son who became “a man of some renown” in India, and died there.

II. 2. EDMUND Jenkins, who followed his brother's matrimonial lead; but the lady's name is not recorded. He (or his wife) is buried in Llantwit-wardre Church. They had—1, Thomas; 2, John; 3, Edward; 4, Edmund; 5, William; 6, Margaret.

III. THOMAS Jenkins, married a daughter of William Morgan of Treguff; but died *s.p.*

III. 2. JOHN Jenkins, married Elizabeth — of Pen-y-way. They had *Edward*, who died young.

III. 3. EDWARD Jenkins, married his cousin Mrs. Williams of Ffynnon-wen.

III. 4. EDMUND Williams, who adhered to the older paternal name, and married Wenllian Hugh of Trekinglith.

III. 5. WILLIAM Williams, married Mary, daughter of — Edwards of Trehill, who was harper to George III. He had twenty-three living children, but Greenway passed to—

III. 6. MARGARET Jenkins, who married Rees Williams of Trehiddin, and had—1, George; 2, *John* Jenkins, clerk, perpetual curate of Caerau; 3, *Edward*; 4, *Mary*, married William Morgan of Llanwonno, and had two children; 5, *Catherine*, married Lewis Davies

of St. Mellons; 6, *Margaret*, married John Spencer of St. Mary Church, now (1865) living at Greenway. The above family seem to have been buried at Llantwit-vardre and Radyr.

The Court Rolls of Llancarvan are preserved at Fomon. They date from a little before Colonel Jones's purchase, but do not contain any entries of interest. They are much mixed up with those of West Orchard in St. Tathan's, and occasionally with Llancadle. The three manors are thus mixed up in 1677, when the king and Sir John Jones were the lords. In 1617 the homagers demand a crownnet and stocks. In 1716 and 1717 the courts of Llancarvan and West Orchard were held in the names of Mary Jones, widow; Sir Edward Stradling, Bart.; Sir Edmund Thomas, Bart.; and Oliver St. John, Esq., as trustees under Robert Jones's will. Edward Deere, also a trustee, probably an attorney, was seneschal.

In 1719 Oliver St. John and Richard Jenkins, Esquires, appear among the tenants, as in 1761 do St. John, Jenkins, and John Slugg, gent.

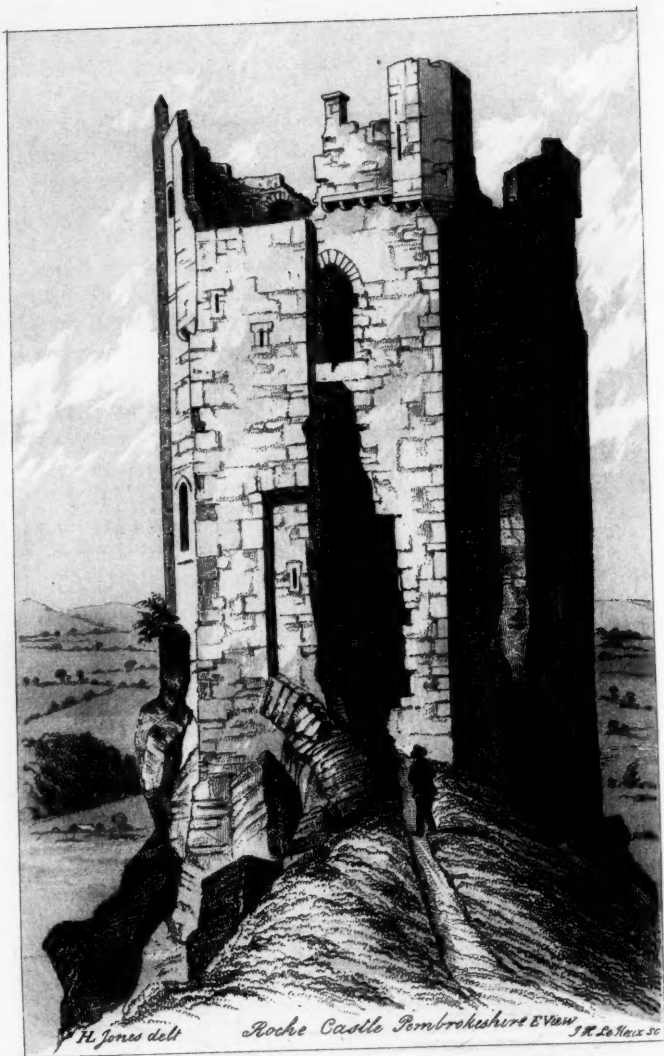
A family resident in the manor, and known in county pedigrees as "Bach of Llancarvan", should be mentioned here. They claimed to descend from Einon ap Collwyn through his son Caradoc, from whom came in direct line, according to the Welsh genealogists, Madoc, Griffith, Ivor, Owen Pellddu, and Griffith-Goch, who was thus seventh in descent from Collwyn. The son of Griffith was David, father of Llewelyn ap David Elias, or Bach, of Llancarvan, who left two daughters coheirs, of whom the younger married William, and was mother of John ap William Gronow of Cowbridge.

Mary, the elder daughter and coheir, married Richard Gwyn of Llansannor, sheriff in 1575, and had issue. What became of the property is uncertain.

The ground plan of Llancarvan Church illustrating this article is from a drawing kindly supplied by J. C. Prichard, Esq., diocesan architect.

A subscription is being set on foot for the restoration of this fine old church.

G. T. C.

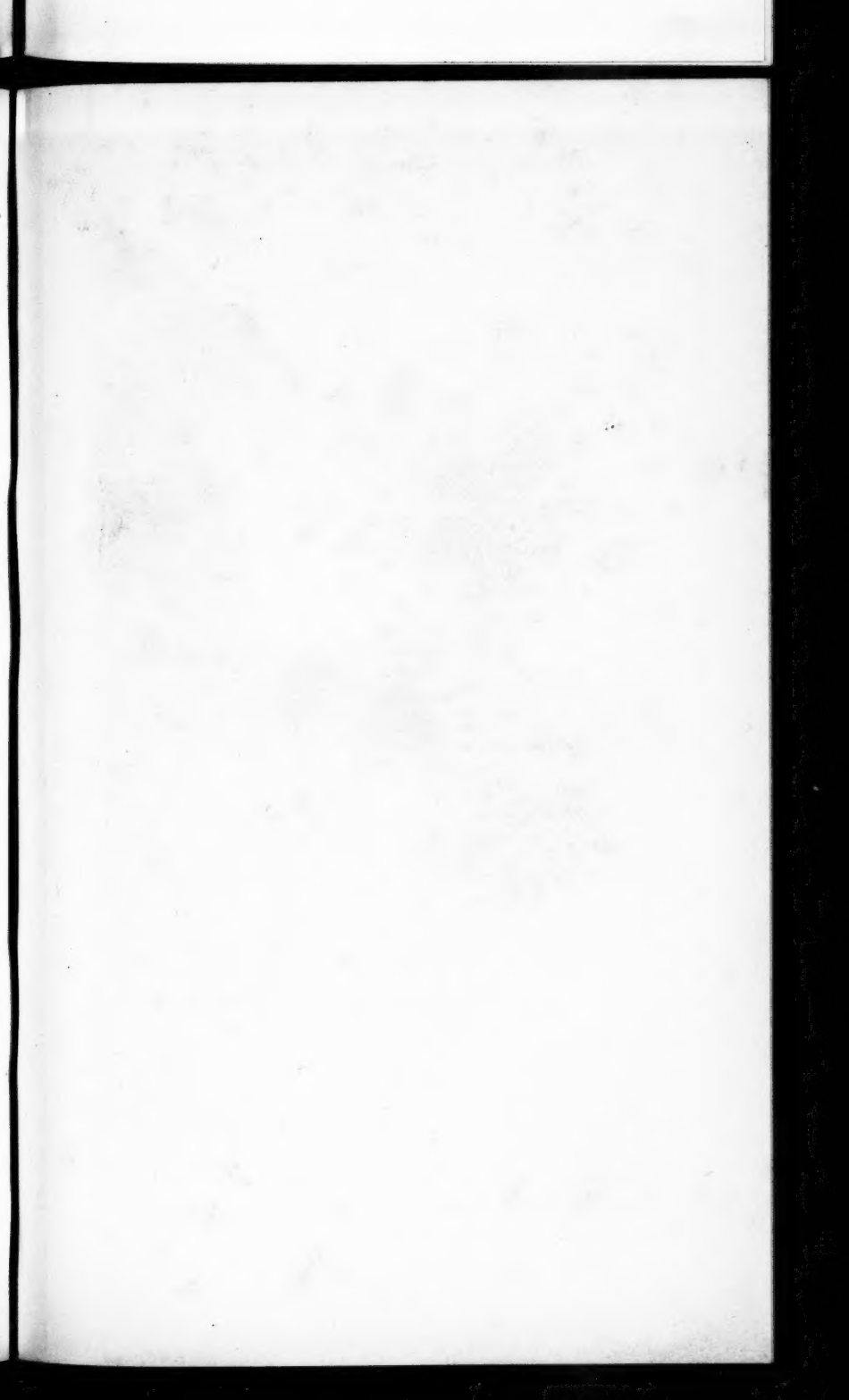


ROCHE CASTLE, PEMBROKESHIRE.

THE Association visited Roche Castle from Haverfordwest, in their excursion to St. David's in August 1864. On that occasion Mr. Clark of Dowlais gave a brief description of the principal features of the ruin ; and the following is a summary of his observations : " It is built on one horn of a double up-burst of igneous rock, and consists of a D-shaped tower with prolonged sides, and may be of the reign of Henry III, or more probably early in the following one. The lower floor was probably a barrack, although filled up to one quarter of its area by a mass of rock *in situ*, which must have been very inconvenient. A straight staircase, marked by some broken steps and the rake of the loops, led from the floor, past a guard-robe, to the front floor and the chapel. The principal room occupied the square part of the floor, with three large openings to the west, north, and east. South of this was a second room ; and beyond this an oratory, which consisted of a small vaulted ground chamber occupying a projection from the south or convex face of the tower. Above it is another such chamber, also vaulted, but now inaccessible. The floors seem to have been of timber. Each stage had a fire-place. The stairs were enclosed in the thickness of the wall ; but the inner shell had fallen. The exterior door had no portcullis, but was some little height above the ground. Certain bonding stones in the tower indicate that it was at one time intended to enclose the other portion of the rock in a kind of court, but that had never been carried into effect. At the foot of the rock are a double bank and ditch enclosing a base-court or paddock. There are certain Tudor windows and other later alterations."

The foregoing may be called the architectural history of the Castle. The following is a summary of its history abbreviated from Fenton. The first possessor we hear of was Adam de Rupe, founder of Pill Priory. The

Castle stands on the south-west extremity of a rocky ridge, and its position gives it an air of great singularity as well as strength. The building to the west shews an almost semicircular form; to the north, a plain front; to the east, an irregular side, having the principal entrance, with a square projection, to the south. The average thickness of the walls was five feet ten inches. Fenton says it must have been prior to Henry VI's reign that it was regularly inhabited. He had seen an *Inquisitio post Mortem* of the estates of Thomas De la Roche, apparently *temp.* Henry VI, which mentioned the Castle as then ruined and deserted. About this time the possessions of the family fell among coheirresses, one of whom married Lord Ferrers, the other Sir George Longueville. After passing through various hands, in the lapse of two hundred years, this Castle, with part of the vast territory formerly annexed to it, came through the Reeses of Roche to the family of the Stokeses of Cuffern, who now hold it. During the civil wars of the Commonwealth period it was garrisoned for the king, and held out a smart siege in 1644, under the command of Captain Francis Edwards of Summerhill in this neighbourhood, who fell afterwards in North Wales. There was a tradition that Cromwell was present at this siege; but Fenton, in a note, disposes of it by stating that Cromwell first came into Pembrokeshire in 1648. It was said that the commander of the Castle threw from one of the eyelet windows a javelin which cut the string of Cromwell's helmet, and obliged him to quit the field. There was a person living in the adjoining parish of Brawdy, in 1745, who declared that she was then a hundred and ten years old,—a statement which would have made her age nine years at the time of the siege. She declared that she well remembered seeing the Castle on fire, and observed a person dressed in scarlet and gold (generally believed to be Cromwell) ride past Roche Mill on a fine charger. He held a short stick or truncheon in his hand, and round his horse's neck there hung a chain.





ROCHE CASTLE, PEMBROKESHIRE.

Tradition, in Fenton's time, also accounted for the position of the Castle as follows. To one of the De la Roches it was foretold that he should die by the bite of a viper. He erected, in consequence, this Castle on the rock, at a distance from any growth that could give shelter to such a reptile, and there submitted to a self-imposed imprisonment. But in spite of this precaution the prophecy was fulfilled. A viper was brought in among the fire-wood, and thus fastened on its victim, and killed him.

J. TOMBS.

This Castle must, at the time of its erection, have been one of considerable importance. Its singularly commanding situation causes it to be a look-out post not only for a very large part of Pembrokeshire, but also for a great extent of sea. It was erected, too, just on the limit of the ground held by the English and Flemings against the Welsh; and even now, whereas English is spoken in the village of Roche and up to it all the way from Haverford, yet as soon as the valley north of the Castle, with the brook and swampy ground in the bottom, is crossed, then Welsh begins, and the two people are here separated by all their usual national characteristics.

It admitted of easy defence, and from its position on a base of rock was incapable of being sapped and mined; so that in those early days the only probable means of subduing it would have been found in blockade and famine. The ruins, as they at present stand, are in tolerably good condition, but bear traces of the action of the Cromwellian attack. It is a building so remarkable in position and form, and constitutes such a prominent landmark for Pembrokeshire, that it is to be hoped the family now owning it will protect it from further injury. At a comparatively small cost the edifice might be looked over by a competent architect, and its cracks and loose stones repaired and made firm; the same as was done, twenty years ago, at Carnarvon Castle with such excellent results. A little care now shown would make this Castle last for centuries.

H. L. J.

THE MAEN ACHWYNFAN.

THE northern portions of Denbighshire and Flintshire do not possess many remains of the period between the Roman and Norman occupations of this country, belonging to the class of objects which from time to time I have brought under the notice of the readers of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. In fact, with the exception of one or two interesting sculptured stones at Dyserth, the only important relic of the period in question, with which I am acquainted, is the great stone cross near Newmarket, commonly known under the name of the "Maen Achwynfan," or "the stone of lamentation." This must not be confounded with the Newmarket cross standing within the churchyard, on the south side of the church, which is an erection of the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

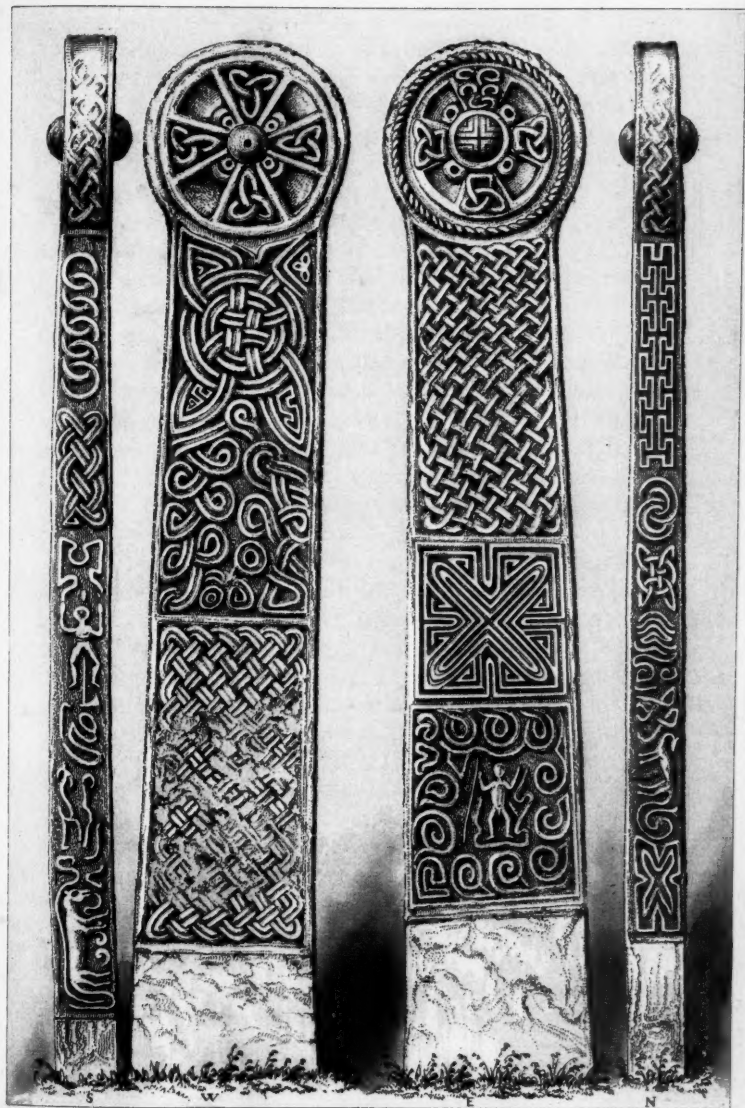
The sculptured stones of each of the great Celtic divisions of this island, in which they are found, exhibit a certain general character distinguishing them from those of the rest of the British islands. Thus in Ireland we find vast numbers of tall shafts surmounted by wheel-crosses, the bases generally sculptured, in compartments, with scenes chiefly representing Scripture subjects; whilst the inscribed stones bear inscriptions in the Irish language, and written in the characters generally termed Hiberno-Saxon. In Scotland, on the contrary, scarcely an early inscription is to be found, and the stones rarely exhibit the wheel-cross head, but are ornamented with designs of the genuine Hiberno-Saxon school, but mixed with scenes often illustrating the chase or other pursuits of the inhabitants. The crosses in the Isle of Man, again, bear many inscriptions, but all written in runic characters; whilst many of the stones contain remarkable representations of the chase, etc. In Cornwall, again, the crosses are of an extremely simple character, scarcely

ever ornamented, and occasionally bearing an inscription in the Hiberno-Saxon kind of letters rather than debased Roman. In Wales, on the contrary, great numbers of the early stones bear inscriptions either in the debased Roman or in Hiberno-Saxon characters. This ornamentation is confined almost exclusively to ribbon or zigzag work; and the tall column supporting a wheel-cross for the cap is of the greatest rarity: indeed, I only know four such crosses, namely—1st, the Nevern cross, illustrated in this Journal (vol. vi, 3rd Ser.). This is placed in the churchyard of the village of Nevern. 2nd, the Penmon cross illustrated in vol. iv, standing in the open park, at some distance to the west of the Priory Church. 3rd, the Carew cross standing by the road-side in the midst of the village of Carew, Pembrokeshire; and 4th, the Maen Achwynfan, which stands in a field near the road-side, nearly two miles and a half east of Newmarket. For the benefit of pedestrian archæologists its precise locality may be thus indicated. At about a mile distant, eastward from Newmarket, the road branches, the right hand road running to the south-east, and joining the mail-coach road to Holywell. This branch is said by Pennant to be a portion of Offa's Dyke. The left hand branch goes to Mostyn Quay, and is marked in the Ordnance Map as the Sarn Hwlcin. About a mile and a half distant from the branches of the road we arrive at a cross-road which runs southward to the Traveller's Inn on the Holywell road. It is close at the junction of the Sarn Hwlcin with this cross-road that the Maen Achwynfan may be seen with its top towering over the hedges of the field in which it stands, far removed from any village or any remains either of a religious or civil nature. Neither are we aware of any tradition on the spot which would give a clue to the reason of so remarkable a monument being placed in such a situation. The whole district, however, has been the scene of many conflicts. Close to Newmarket is the *Cop'r'leni*, with an immense carnedd of lime stones on its summit. On the brow of another adjacent hill is *Bryn Saethau* ("the

hill of arrows"). Near to this is *Bryn y Lluddfa* ("the hill of slaughter"). Below this, again, is the *Pant y Gwae* ("the hollow of woe"); and, indeed, says Mr. Pen-nant, the tract from this place to Caerwys was certainly a field of battle, as no place in North Wales exhibits an equal quantity of tumuli,—all sepulchral, as is proved by the urns discovered in them. The Maen Achwynfan must, however, certainly be considered to be of a much more recent date than the events indicated by the names of these localities; although I can scarcely think it more recent than the tenth or eleventh century. That it is not so old as many of the stones in South Wales, I infer from a rudeness and irregularity in the design, and a want of that precision which gives to the southern stones such a great resemblance to the early Anglo-Saxon and Irish illuminated MSS.

The height of the cross is about twelve feet. The head is formed into a circle rather ruder than the upper part of the column, and not set on upright. At its base it is twenty-seven inches wide, on the east and west sides, gradually diminishing upwards to about twenty inches; and the thickness of the shaft, near the bottom, is nine inches and a half. Its surface has been very much weathered from its very exposed situation. The accompanying engraving, representing the four sides of the cross, has been made from sketches drawn by myself on the spot in 1848, corrected by rubbings reduced by the camera lucida.

The eastern side of the cross is divided into three compartments, leaving about a foot and a half at the base unsculptured. The lowest compartment contains, in the centre, the figure of a man seen in front, with his legs bent and his arms stretched upwards, as we have already seen to be the case with several other of the carved stones of Wales. Here, however, the attitude can hardly be that of prayer, as the figure seems to bear a spear in his right hand, whilst a short sword seems suspended on his left side. The stone is, however, too much rubbed to enable us to decide this point. The



*The Maen Achwynfaen
Near Newmarket, Huntingdonshire*

J. H. De la Haye sc.



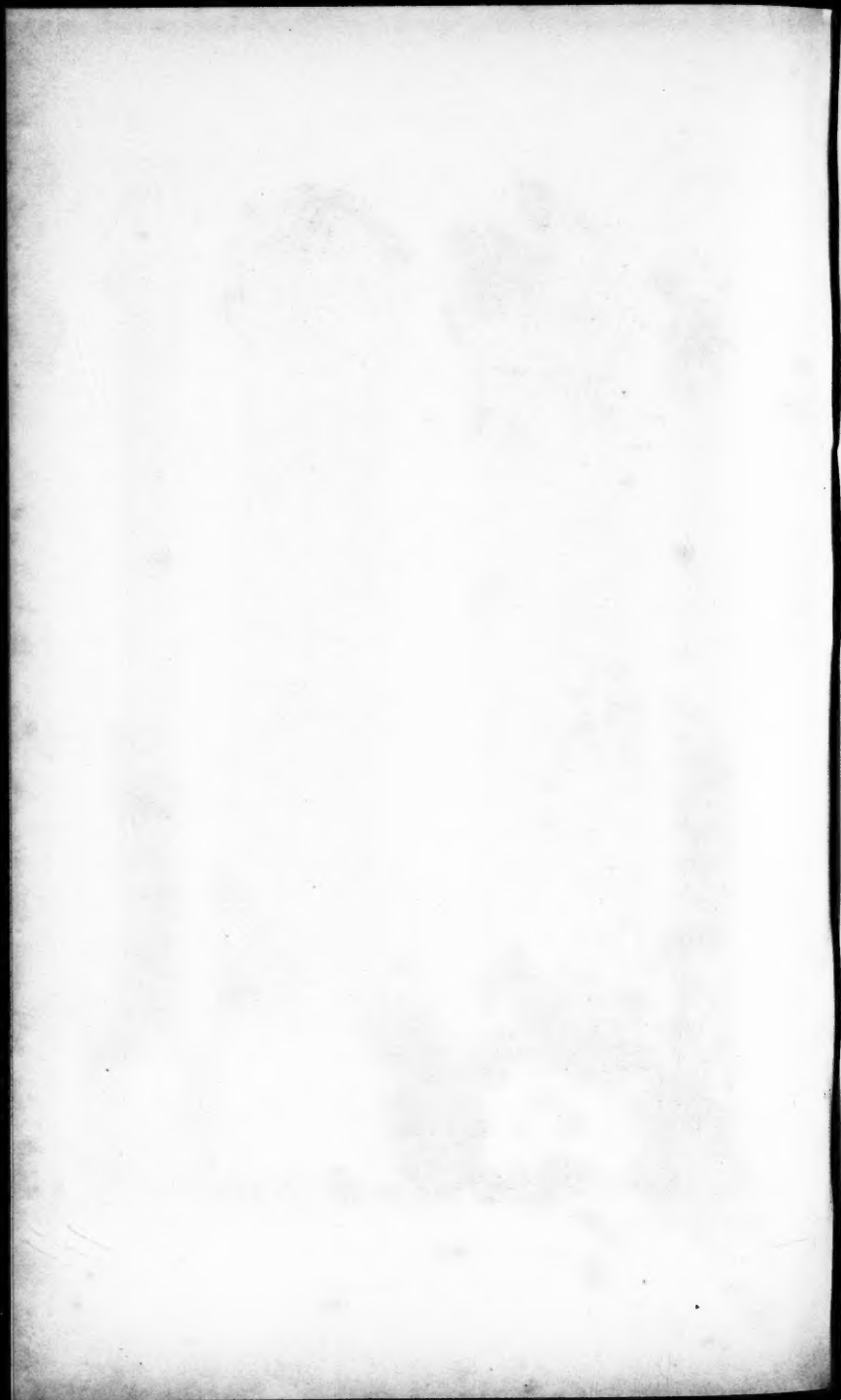


figure is surrounded by a rudely executed series of double ribbons arranged on circular whorls. The central compartment is ornamented with a four-rayed star pattern (or St. Andrew's cross) of very unusual character; the open spaces filled in with incised lines arranged labyrinth-like; and the upper compartment is formed of a rudely executed, simply interlaced ribbon or basket-pattern; the lines not running regularly, so that the interlacings are not symmetrical.

The western side is divided into three compartments (also with a plain space at the base), the lower one being formed of double ribbons interlaced more regularly than those on the eastern side, but having the surface almost worn away. The middle compartment is formed of two series of large and rude knots composed of broad ribbons; whilst the upper part is ornamented with two double concentric circles interlaced with ribbons crossing each other in the centre, and uniting at the angles, outside the circles.

The head of the cross, on each side, is occupied by a cruciform design with a slightly ornamented boss in the centre, and with the four limbs ornamented with the triquetra pattern, the intervening space being incised. The upper limb on the east side alone is ornamented with an irregularly interlaced ribbon-design. The rim of the cross exhibits a plain interlaced ribbon-design, which Pennant mistook for letters. The southern edge of the cross has also been stated to be inscribed with letters; but this also is a mistake. Although greatly defaced, the various patterns can be tolerably made out, those on the northern edge consisting of a St. Andrew's cross pattern at the bottom, over which is a long-tailed, short, twisted-necked quadruped; a twisted ribbon-design followed by an interlaced circle, like that on the top of the west side; two circles linked together; and at the top is a considerable space occupied by a double series of T's set in opposition to each other. The southern edge of the cross is ornamented, from the bottom, with a rudely drawn, long-tailed quadruped

(which has been mistaken for letters), followed by some irregular lines in which I could not trace any decided pattern. Above this appears the stunted figure of a man with his arms uplifted; then an interlaced double ribbon-pattern, and at top a series of interlaced rings.

A tolerably accurate engraving of the cross appears in Gough's *Camden*, also in Pennant's *Tour in Wales*. A more pretentious engraving of it, representing all the four sides, as well as the two small Dyserth crosses, was published by Watkin Williams; dedicated to Sir Roger Mostyn, Bart., on whose estate near Gelli Chapel, in the parish of Whiteford, this monument is described to be standing. The engraving was sold at the "price 4s."; and surely there never was a more wretched representation of an object of antiquity. Thus the figure of the western side entirely omits the large upper compartment with the interlaced concentric circles, and yet a "N.B." is added,—“an imperfect description and representation of this pillar may be found in the last edition of Camden's *Britannia*.”

It is much to be desired that a low wall should be erected round this monument, so as to protect it from possible damage caused by cattle or the plough. The Association visited it during the Rhyl Meeting, and it remains in much the same condition as it was then found in.

J. O. WESTWOOD.

Oxford, July 1865..

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON EGLWYSEG.

IN the "Notes on the Antiquities and Etymology of Eglwyseg" (*Arch. Camb.*, April 1865) I mentioned that "I once for a moment thought that Eliseg might be the *eponymus*," adding from memory, "Pennant writes about the *Glisseg* rocks."

I have now referred to Pennant. He first distinctly states (*Tours in Wales*, vol. ii, p. 9, ed. 1810) that "one of the seats of Concenn and Eliseg was in this country," which is at least very probable; but he had no authority for the positive statement; at any rate he cites none, and I do not remember having ever met with any. Immediately afterwards he adds, "the habitation of this Prince of Powys in these parts was probably *Dinas Brân*, which lies" (he means *stands*) "at the head of the Vale of *Glisseg*." He then proceeds: "Mr. *Llwyd*" (he means Edward Lhuyd) "conjectures that this place took its name from the interment of *Eliseg*."

What Lhuyd says (Gough's *Camden*, vol. iii, p. 215; ed. London, 1806) is, "'Tis remarkable that adjoining this monument" (the pillar of Eliseg) "there's a township called Eglwsig; which name is corrupted, doubtless, from this Eliseg, though our greatest critics interpret it *terra ecclesiastica*."

Pennant also distinctly says (*Tours*, ii, 9), "This Concenn, or Congen, was the grandson of *Brochmail Ysgithrog*, the same who was defeated in 607 at the battle of Chester"; and refers to Bede, as if Bede attested the pedigree. The pillar is well known to have been erected in the *ninth* century; and Concenn, who erected it (certainly the grandson of *a* Brochmail,—I think there are said to have been thirty Brochmails or Brochwels) was slain A.D. 850,—"*Oed Crist 850, y bu gwaith Ffinant ac y llas Cyngen ab Cadell Deyrnllwg yn Rhufain gan ei wyr ei hun*" (*Brut y Tywysogion*), and his son Griffri A.D. 815 (*Ibid.*)

I may, some time, offer a few remarks on the "Cadell" of Powys, and the well known story in Nennius, and the word "Deyrnllwg."

In the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum I find, among many ancient Welsh genealogies transcribed, I believe, by the Chaloners and the Randle Holmes, one descending from Llowarch Hên, Sanddef Bryd-Angel, Marchan (brother of Llewelyn Aurdorchog, lord of Iâl, whom I mentioned in the "Notes"), and March-weithan, "founder" of the so-called "tribe"; and a son of March-weithan is there called "Marchwistle"; which is, perhaps, a corrupt form of the name Arwystl referred to in the "Notes"—possibly March Arwystl, or Sir Arwystl; and the grandson of this Marchwistle is stated (Harl. MSS. 1977, f. 21) to have lived on the Fron Fawr,—the mountain of that name, I presume, a part of which is in the very township of Eglwyseg (Eglwysegl, Egwestl, Elgistil, Elwystyl, Arwystyl). The words are,—“Cadwgan, or Tangno, whose house was on the top of the Fron Fawr.”

I have explored the whole of the Fron Fawr, and I think that, if there has been any house on the top, it was at the south-east end, about where the letter A in "Abbey" occurs on the Ordnance Map; but the traces are *very* faint and dubious.

A. B.

Temple. May 1865.

NOTES ON THE PERROT FAMILY.

(Continued from p. 260.)

THE issue of Edward Perrot and Elizabeth Stonhouse were—1, Robert, his heir. 2, Charles, born at Abingdon, 1627; B.A. of Oriel College, 1649; and M.A. 30 June, 1653, being at that time Fellow of his college. He spent some time abroad in travelling, with a view to the acquisition of the modern languages. Wood, who was an intimate friend of his, describes him as "a well bred gentleman and a sweet person." He was also a musician, and in his turn held in his rooms the weekly meeting of the "scholastical musicians" as they are termed by Wood.

He died 23 April, 1677, at the age of forty-five, and was buried near his grandfather, Robert, in Northleigh Church. On the 25th of April, 1677, a funeral oration was delivered over his body, in the hall of Oriel College, by Wm. Hazlewood, the dean. He bequeathed £50 to be laid out in land, for the purpose of apprenticing poor children in Northleigh. He published, anonymously, one or two treatises in defence of the prerogative of the crown.

3. Edward, the third son, was a Portugal merchant, and settled at Oporto, where he died 16 Oct. 1667. His body was brought to England, and buried at Northleigh. The date of his burial is stated to be the 25th day of November. He bequeathed £40 to the poor of Northleigh, an account of which legacy was given in 1678 by his brother Robert, the survivor of his two executors, the other one being Charles Perrot, who had died the preceding year.

4. John Perrot, the sixth son, married the daughter of one Deval of Ensham, Oxon; but nothing is said in Wood's MSS. as to any issue.

Of the four daughters, Elizabeth, Anne, Mary, and Ursula, Mary seems to be the only one who married.

She was the second wife of Richard Lydall, M.D., and died in childbed at her house in Canditch, Oxford, 2 August, 1665. She had issue by her husband, one daughter, Mary.

Edward Perrot and his wife were buried at Northleigh, where is a monument on the south side of the chancel, of which the inscription is as follows :

"In y^e church were interred the bodies of Ed. Perrot, Esq., and of Mary his wife (daugh^r of William Stonhouse of Radley in y^e county of Berks, Bart.) He was son of Robert y^e son of Simon (see y^e next monument and a monum^t in St. Peters y^e East Church in Oxford), and father of Robert y^e father of Edw^d (see y^e monument over y^e family seat in y^e church) and of Chas. y^e present surv^r : all successive inheritors of y^e estates of Northleigh and y^e mannor of North Hinksey in y^e county of Berks.

"Edward Perrot died 1684, aged 92.

"Mary died 1658."

[Arms. Perrot impaling Rogers.]

"This monument was erected by C. P., 1732."

The arms of Stonhouse are, *argent*, on a fess *sable* between three hawks rising *azure*, a leopard's head *or* between two mullets *argent*.



ROBERT PERROT, eldest son and heir, was born in 1623, and died in 1698. He married Susan [who was born 1632, and died 1716], the daughter of Thomas Coningsby of North Mimms in Hertfordshire. Her mother was Martha, daughter of Sir William Button of Alton, Wilts. Thomas Coningsby, as high sheriff of Hertfordshire (1637), first proclaimed the Earl of Essex and his army traitors. He was consigned, by order of Parliament, to

the Tower, where he died, leaving only one son, Sir Henry Coningsby, and several daughters. Sir Henry dying without issue, the male line became extinct, and is now represented through the female by the Sibthorpes of Lincolnshire, and the descendants of Robert Perrot and Susan Coningsby. The issue of Robert Perrot were—1, Edward; 2, Charles; 3, Margaret.

Edward Perrot was a barrister of Lincoln's Inn or the Temple, and acted as his father's steward for the lordship of North Hinksey. From a letter of his father's, written July 11, 1687, we learn that the famous "tooth-drawer" in Oxford at that time was one Stroud. Charles, the younger son of Robert, was to have written to his brother Edward, but was prevented by his sufferings from a diseased tooth, which Stroud had contrived to break in his attempt to extract it. Edward married Margaret Blount, the heiress of Kingerby in Lincolnshire, including the advowson. He died in January 24, 1729, aged seventy-six, leaving the family estates to his brother Charles.

Edward Perrot was a non-juror and a staunch royalist, as his father, uncle, and grandfather, had been. He is said to have assisted with his purse James II, who in return sent him two miniatures of his son, taken at different periods. The prince himself subsequently sent a third. He was buried at Northleigh, as was his widow, who erected the monument in the south aisle of the church.¹

Margaret, the only daughter of Robert Perrot, was the wife of — Chambers. She was born 1664, and died 1730. Her only child, Susannah, died 20 August 1718, aged thirty.

¹ "In memory of Edward Perrot, eldest son of Robert and Susannah his wife, with whom he lies buried in the churchyard. This monument was erected by Margaret his relic, who had lived happily with him for forty-six years, and desired at her death not to be separated from him.

Robert	} aged {	75	} died {	April 18, 1698
Susannah		86		Nov. 27, 1716
Edward		76		Jan. 24, 1729
Margaret		66		Feb. 24, 1732."

The arms of Margaret Blount, as represented on some of her plate, are given as two bars nebulé [the engraver may have executed his work badly, and thus given these instead of the usual coat barré nebulé of eight, sometimes of six, *sable* and *or*] quartered with a lion rampant within a bordure engrailed (?) bezanté.

The arms of Coningsby are, *gules*, three coneyes séjant within a bordure engrailed *argent*.



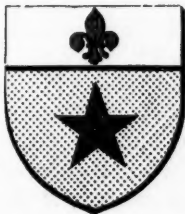
CHARLES PERROT, the second son of Robert, succeeded, as stated, his brother Edward. He married Ann, daughter of John Rogers, vicar of Ensham, and rector of Week Rissington in Gloucestershire. Ann was the sister of John Rogers, the well known divine and author. He had been chaplain to Queen Anne and George II, and subsequently rector of Wrington in Somersetshire, canon and sub-dean of Wells, and lastly vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate, which he held only six months, dying May 1, 1726.

During the lifetime of his elder brother, Charles resided at Perrot's Lodge in Wychewood Forest. He was born 1644, and died 1739. His wife died in 1724.

The issue of their marriage was,—1, Robert, who died unmarried. The failure of an intended marriage with a member of the Godolphin family is said to have led to hard drinking and an early death. 2, John, who died before his father, leaving one son, Edward John. 3, Charles, in holy orders, who died suddenly in his reading-desk in his church in Hertfordshire, and left no issue. 4, Benjamin; died unmarried. 5, William was a chorister of Magdalen College in 1728, and made clerk

9 March, 1730. He was never married; and on the death of his only nephew, Edward John, succeeded to the estate in 1759. He died in 1765, from the effect of a fall from his horse, close to his own house at Northleigh. As the male line ceased in him, he was anxious to prevent the Northleigh estate being sold to the Duke of Marlborough, and had intended to have ridden into Oxford to execute his will, or some deed to prevent the disposal of the property. This intention was, in consequence of the accident, not carried out, and soon after his death his four sisters and coheiresses sold the property to the duke. He died July 22, 1765. 6. The eldest sister, Ann, married Edmund Sparrow of the Lodge in Wychwood Forest, and afterwards of Norfolk. She died at the age of twenty-seven. From her are descended the families of Dalby and Inman. 7, Catharine, married first, Richard Whitehall; secondly, John Parker of Oxford. From the first marriage are descended the families of Patteson and Parsons; from the second, the Parkers of Oxford. 8, Susanna, married William Standert, from whom are descended the Stauntons of Warwickshire. 9, Jane, married George Underwood, some time rector of Kencot in Oxfordshire; and is now represented by C. L. Barnwell of Mileham in the county of Norfolk. There were two other sons who died infants.

The arms of Rogers are, *or*, a mullet *sable*, on a chief *argent* a fleur-de-lis *gules*.



JOHN PERROT, the second son of Charles, lived apparently at Oxford. He is described as "de civit. Oxon.," and the father of Edward John Perrot, who matriculated at Hertford College, 10 Oct. 1741. He himself does not

appear to have been a member of the University. He married a person of inferior rank, whose name has not been recorded, and died at an early age, and, as stated, from the effect of eating some crabs. He left one child, Edward John.

EDWARD JOHN PERROT was born in 1723, and never married. He died at the age of thirty-six, 27 March, 1759. His death is said to have been caused, or at least accelerated, from regret at having accidentally shot a favourite servant with a pistol, while preparing for a journey. On his death the estates reverted, as previously mentioned, to his uncle William, who died without will or issue a few years afterwards. The estates, which included the property at Northleigh, the manor and alternate advowson of North Hinksey, the manor and advowson of Kingerby in Lincolnshire, and a house in the High Street at Oxford, called the "King's Arms," were sold, and the proceeds divided between the three surviving sisters and two nieces by his sister Anne; realising in all about £40,000. The personal effects were sold by auction in September 1765, and as a catalogue of the sale may illustrate the *menage* of a gentleman in Oxfordshire, of the period, it is given in the Appendix. Thus, in 1765, terminated the oldest, and the most important, branch of the Oxfordshire Perrots.

THE PERROTS OF DRAYTON AND NORTHLEIGH.

It has been stated that Leonard was the fourth, or, according to the family Register, third son of Robert Perrot and Alice Gardiner. He married twice. The name of his first wife was Symor; that of his second, Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Skipwith of St. Albans in the county of Hertford. By Dorothy Skipwith he had issue: 1, John, of Dorchester; 2, Richard; 3, Clement; 4, Leonard; 5, Dorcas, who became the wife of William Lyde of Dorchester.

Leonard was settled at Drayton in Oxfordshire before 1575, as he is described of such place in the articles of

agreement (touching the leases of Binsey near Oxford) between himself and coexecutors of his brother John with Simon, which articles are dated 15 July of that year. He had been clerk of Magdalen College in 1533, and became tenant of the parsonage of Horsepath, probably on his father's death, in 1550, although it had been left to his mother for life with reversion to himself. To his younger brother, John, had been left in reversion, after his mother, the old and new lease of Binsey, together with a parcel of ground called Mynchin. This property, together with some other in Binsey not mentioned in Robert Perrot's will, was left by John to his brother Leonard and to two trustees, William Abram and Robert Taillboies, goldsmith, both of London.

In some way or other Simon, who was tenant of part of the property, had certain claims on the property, and certain law expenses had been incurred in the dispute, which was settled by the agreement above mentioned. The terms of the agreement were, that Leonard was to grant, with the consent of the Dean and Chapter of Christchurch, a lease for three lives of the messuage at that time in the holding of Simon; also the reversions of leases of a messuage in the holding of Thomas Wadley; and of another called Horseclose, then in the holding of Roger Taler, mayor of Oxford, on the same terms as held by the then tenant, and a rent of 40*s*. Simon, who was also tenant of the Great Mead in Binsey, at a rent of 33*s*. 4*d*., seems to have been two and a half years in arrear, which were to be excused on the payment of 15*s*. in the following Michaelmas. Each party was to pay his own share of the law charges of the suit, while Simon was to give up all his claims before the 1st day of November following. The contracting parties were, Leonard Perrot, William Abram, Robert Taillebois, and Simon Perrot.

Of the children of Leonard Perrot by Dorothy Skipwith,—1, John, of Dorchester, the eldest son, married a daughter of Edward Molyns, brother of Sir Michael Molyns, and had: 1, Daniel; 2, Dorothy, wife of Clement

Kynersley; 3, Anne, wife of Andrew Durdan of New Staines, Middlesex; 4, Margaret; 5, Mary; 6, Martha.

Richard, the second son of Leonard, and through whom the line continued (for Daniel, his nephew, seems to have died young or without issue), married Winifred Luxford of the county of Sussex.

Clement, third son, married, and had a daughter, Elizabeth, the wife of Richard Roberts, living with Dr. Frewen, President of Magdalen College in 1634 (?).

Leonard, fourth son, married, and had issue, Richard, who by his wife, a daughter of ... Prince of Berkshire, had a son, Francis, born 1613. Francis married Alice, daughter of Thomas Bowring of St. Mary's, Oxon, vintner; and had one son, Samuel, who died young in 1660, and was buried in St. Mary's, Oxon. Francis was living at Ensham, in the same county, in 1666.

The male line of this branch of the Perrots ceasing in the first, third, and fourth sons of Leonard Perrot, was continued only by RICHARD, the second son, who by his wife, Winifred Luxmore, had—1, James, born 1607; 2, Richard, born the same year; 3, George; 4, Francis; 5, Mary; 6, Winifred; 7, Jane; 8, Susan.

Of the three younger brothers nothing is stated, so that it is uncertain whether they left descendants.

JAMES PERROT, the eldest son of Richard Perrot and Winifred Luxmore, married Anne, daughter and coheir of George Dale, D.C.L., of the county of Somerset. James is described in Gwyllym as of Amersham, Bucks, and of Northleigh and Fawler in the county of Oxford. He is also described as of Tetsworth. For Fawler in Oxfordshire should probably be read Fawley in Berkshire, not far from Fyfield in that county, with which place these Perrots were certainly connected, as many of them were buried there.

In 1664 Sir Edward Bysshe confirmed to James Perrot, as his arms, the usual Perrot coat. There may have been nothing unusual about this particular confirmation; but as in Wood's MSS. the pears are described as *argent*, not *or*, and as there is a tradition, as already

mentioned, of a dispute between the two families of Northleigh on this question of gold or silver pears, it is not impossible that this confirmation was obtained to settle the important point. It was, however, this James Perrot that Wood said was reported to be a "bye-blow from Herefordshire." As he was so intimate with the Perrots whom he distinguishes as "gentleman Perrots," he probably obtained this curious information from them. But however this may be, it is remarkable that both he and his friends at Northleigh were ignorant of the fact that James Perrot (who probably was the first of his family that settled in that parish) was of the same stock as the family already established there. The new comer's house was at the bottom of the hill, and near the church. That of the others was on the top of the hill, above the village, whence they were sometimes called "the Hill Perrots."

James Perrot died at Northleigh, 8 Dec. 1687, and was buried at Fyfield, according to Wood. He had an estate in Bucks, under a blind knight of the name of Drake. He had issue: 1, William, barrister-at-law; matriculated at St. John's College, Oxford, 28 March, 1655, and died 1664. 2, James; 3, Charles Perrot, born 1639, and died January 24, 1724. His elder brother, William, dying without issue, the estates fell to James, the second son.

3. The third son, Charles, was born 1639, and matriculated at St. John's, Oct. 1657; of which college he subsequently became a Fellow. In 1679 he was the successful candidate in the election for a representative of the University, having two hundred and twenty-four votes; being a majority of twenty votes over Sir Leoline Jenkins, the munificent benefactor of Jesus College, Oxford. Anthony Wood alludes to it in his *Life* (p. 290) in such a manner as to shew he neither liked the individual or his party; for he says, "the black potmen carried it for Perrot,—a thorough paced soaker." He died in his college, June 10, 1686, at the age of forty-seven; his death being, perhaps, hastened by his "soaking." He died unmarried.

The wife of JAMES PERROT was Anna . . . born 1652. She died 19 Oct. 1729. The issue of this marriage were Henry and Catharine, the wife of James Musgrave, and by him the mother of James Musgrave, who was born 1712, and died 1778. James Perrot was of the Middle Temple, and is described as of Shardloe, near Amersham, in Bucks. Besides other property, he was lord of the manor, with certain tenements, of Brisingham in the parish of Fersfield, Norfolk, as appears by his levying a fine (Bloomfield's *Norfolk*, 8vo. ed., vol. i, p. 93), 13 May, 1724. James Perrot of Northleigh in Oxfordshire (evidently the same person), and his eldest son Henry, and their trustees, conveyed two tenements of this property to Henry Blomefield. This conveyance must have been executed a short time before James Perrot's death, which took place the same year. Another account, however, states that Henry was a nephew of James Perrot of Shardloe near Amersham, and of Charles Perrot; which, if correct, he must have been the son of William, the elder brother of James and Charles. The more probable explanation, however, is that there was only one Henry Perrot, son of James; and that William, who died twenty-five years before this Henry was born, died, if not unmarried, at least without issue.

HENRY PERROT, apparently the same as the person mentioned in Blomefield's *History of Norfolk* as the eldest son of James Perrot, was born 1689. He took the degree of D.C.L. in 1733. In 1740 he paid to Magdalen College a fine of £69 for certain tenements in All Saints, Oxford. He represented the county of Oxford from 1721 to 1740, when he died in Paris on the 6th of July.

He married Martha, daughter of Brereton Bouchier, Esq., the owner of Barnsley near Cirencester, and Catharine his wife. The issue of this marriage were two daughters: 1, Cassandra, born 1721, died 1778; 2, Martha, born 1724, died 1773; both unmarried.

Henry Perrot served the office of churchwarden of Barnsley parish, 1732; and is supposed to have built the present mansion house in the park, the leaden pipes

having his initials and the date 1721. His name is still preserved in "Perrot's Bridge," or, as formerly known as "Perrot's Brook," about three miles from the church. This was, however, merely a footbridge, and has since been replaced by one for carriages.

Cassandra and Martha Perrot are described in a deed dated 1772, as ladies of the manor and patrons of the rectory of Barnsley, and were succeeded by their cousin, James Musgrave, who is represented by the present baronet, the Rev. Sir William Augustus Musgrave. The connexion of the two families is clear. James Perrot, the father of Henry, had only one other child, Catharine, who married James Musgrave in holy orders; and whose son, James Musgrave, born in 1712, died in 1778, the same year as Cassandra Perrot, the survivor of the two sisters. His son, also called James, was therefore the representative of Henry Perrot through his grandmother, and succeeded to the Northleigh and other Oxfordshire estates; and perhaps in virtue of some settlement, to the Barnsley property also; or Cassandra Perrot may have devised it to her cousin.

Northleigh still continues to be the burial-place of the Musgrave family, the late baronet, Sir James, having been buried there in 1858. On his death the title and estates devolved on his brother, the present baronet, who thus represents this branch of the Perrots of Northleigh, there being no descendants of the remaining sons of Leonard Perrot and Dorothy Skipwith.

(To be continued.)

Obituary.

THE REV. HENRY JAMES VINCENT.—In a recent number of the Journal a correspondent threw out a casual hint about the risk of mortality, when speaking of the Catamanus Stone at St. Dogmael's; and we now have the melancholy duty of announcing its sudden and unexpected fulfilment. The Association has lost a most active officer and valued member; one whose sympathies were always with it, and whose pen was always at its service. All members who were present at the Cardigan Meeting will remember the delightful morn-

ing spent in the garden and among the ruins of St. Dogmael's. Some may remember the quaint and gloomy library within doors; none will forget the beauty of the spot, nor the urbanity of its owner. All this is at an end. Mr. Vincent, who had long been an invalid, suffering from softening of the bones, has been removed suddenly—we firmly trust to a fairer and more enduring haven of rest even than that where we last saw him. He has left behind him a valuable collection of books and papers: all, we are happy to say, duly valued and preserved by his brother and heir, Captain Vincent. The MS. collections for the history of St. Dogmael's Abbey, which he had just completed, are now being arranged for publication in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*; and measures are also being taken by his brother, his archæological friends, and his successor in the benefice, for preserving the crossed and sculptured stones, and of course the famous Catamannus Stone, from future injury. Mr. Vincent has been more fortunate than some other antiquaries. Though called away suddenly, his presence was instantly missed by a circle of warm and active archæological friends, who have since taken steps to guard his literary remains from damage and neglect. We hope that the Association will reap the benefit of their labour; and to one of them we are indebted for the following biographical notes:

"The Rev. Henry James Vincent was born at Fishguard in the county of Pembroke, on the 19th June, 1799. He died at St. Dogmael's 11th June, 1865. He was educated at St. David's and at the licensed Grammar School at Haverfordwest, kept at that time by the Rev. James Thomas, vicar of St. Mary's, Haverfordwest. He was ordained curate of Walton East, in Pembrokeshire, in 1823; afterwards became curate of Nevern, Pembrokeshire, under the late Rev. Dr. Griffith, vicar, one of the most eminent preachers of the day. He succeeded the Rev. William Jones as vicar of St. Dogmael's, who died in October 1825, having been fifty years vicar of that parish. Mr. Vincent married Miss Jones, the only daughter of the former vicar of St. Dogmael's, in 1828. She died in 1831 *sine prole*. It is somewhat singular that both Mr. Vincent and his father-in-law and predecessor had the consolidated livings of St. Dogmael's and Lantood and Monnington, when they were respectively twenty-six years of age. Mr. Jones held the livings fifty years, and died in 1825, aged seventy-six years. Mr. Vincent held the livings forty years, and died in 1865, aged sixty-six years. There is no parish in the Principality which has been more favoured for the last ninety years, under the charge of two such good men. Mr. Vincent was at one time one of the most popular and powerful preachers in Wales."

Correspondence.

THE BOOK OF ANEURIN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—Among the Hengwrt MSS. there existed formerly a MS. termed in the catalogues the "Book of Aneurin." In the catalogue of these MSS. by Mr. William Maurice, in 1658, it is thus described: "11 Caniad y Gododin o waith Aneurin Wawdrydd. It 2d Caniad a elwir Gwarchan Adebón, Gwarchan Cynfelin o Gwarchan Maelderw. Hwn o law hen gwedi ei gaeadu yn Lundain gan Robert Vaughan, Esq., in 8vo. un fodfedd odew." And the catalogue adds: "This is perhaps the most ancient copy now extant of that truly venerable and illustrious relic of Welsh poetry called the 'Gododin,'" etc. Lluyd, who examined the Hengwrt MSS. in 1696, thus describes it: "46 Gododyn o waith Aneurin. Gwarchan Adebón. Gwarchan Kynvelyn. Gwarchan Maelderw owaith Taliessin. Membr. Antiq. 4to."

A MS. containing the same poems was purchased in Aberdar by Mr. Thomas Bacon, and given by him to Mr. Theophilus Jones, the historian of Brecknock. While in his possession it was transcribed by Edward Davies, the author of the *Celtic Researches*. The MS. was afterwards given by Mr. Jones to the late Rev. T. Price, rector of Cwmddu; and after his death passed into the possession of his executrix, Mrs. Powell of Abergavenny. It was purchased from her by Sir Thomas Phillipps, of Middle Hill, Baronet. This MS. is a small 4to MS. consisting of nineteen folios of parchment, and contains first the "Gododin," and secondly the four "Gorchanau" in the following order: the "Gorchan Tudwulch," "Gorchan Adebón," "Gorchan Kynvelin," and "Gorchan Maelderw." On p. 20 the names of Gwilym Tew and Rhys Nanmor appear in a more modern hand. Gwilym Tew presided at the Glamorgan Gorsedd in 1460. The text of the "Gododin," printed by Mr. Williams ab Ithel in his edition of that poem, was taken from a transcript from this MS., and is very nearly correct. The whole of it, with the exception of the stanzas marked 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, and 97, in Mr. Williams's edition, are in the same handwriting; and the capitals which mark the beginning of the stanzas are coloured alternately red and green. This part of the MS. is certainly of the early part of the thirteenth century. Stanzas 92 to 97, inclusive, are written in a different hand, and the capitals are plain. The part of the MS. containing the "Gorchanau" has the first page rubbed and turned, as if the MS. had been sometimes folded so as to place them first, and at other

times with the "Gododin" first; and the first four "Gorchanau" are written in the same hand with the main part of the "Gododin," with the capitals coloured alternately red and green. The "Gorchan Maelderw" is written in the same hand with the two last stanzas of the "Gododin," and the capitals are plain. It is followed by a number of lines in the same hand, which appear not to be parts of the "Gorchan Maelderw," but additional stanzas of the "Gododin."

The "Gododin" is declared to be the work of Aneurin, and the "Gorchan Maelderw" the work of Taliessin.

The opinion I have formed is, that this MS. is the same MS. which once belonged to the Hengwrt Collection, and disappeared after Lluyd examined them in 1696.

In a letter which appeared in the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* (vol. v, p. 123), Mr. Price maintains that it could not have been the Hengwrt MS. on two grounds,—1st, that the Hengwrt MS. is said, in the catalogue of 1658, to have been 8vo., while this MS. is small 4to.; 2ndly, that this MS. contains the "Gorchan Tudwulch," which is omitted in the list of contents of the Hengwrt MS. The first objection is of no weight; for the same catalogue terms the "Book of Taliessin likewise an 8vo.; and this MS., which is still extant, is in reality a small 4to., and of exactly the same size and shape as the "Book of Aneurin"; and Lluyd, who saw it among the Hengwrt MS., expressly calls it a 4to. It is plain, therefore, that William Maurice applied the term 8vo. to MSS. of this size and shape. And the second objection is alone insufficient to lead to the conclusion that the MSS. are different; for it is unlikely that the "Book of Aneurin" in the Hengwrt Collection should have omitted one of the "Gorchanau" attributed to that bard, while it contained the "Gorchan Maelderw," which, as we have seen, was attributed to Taliessin, and written in a different hand; and as the page on which the "Gorchan Tudwulch" appears is much rubbed and bruised, and so less distinct, the title might have escaped the cataloguer. The appearance and binding of the MSS. so much resemble that of the "Book of Taliessin," still in the Hengwrt Collection, that the probability seems greater that this was the MS. which once existed in that collection, and bore the title of the "Book of Aneurin."

The great poem of the "Gododin" has attracted much attention from its striking character, its apparent historic value, and the general impression that, of all the poems, it has the greatest claims to be considered the genuine work of the bard in whose name it appears. It was at first supposed to contain the record of a war between the tribe termed by Ptolemy the Ottadeni and the Saxons in the sixth century, when Aneurin lived, till Edward Davies announced the theory that the event really celebrated in this poem was the traditional slaughter of the British chiefs at Stonehenge by Hengist, usually termed "the plot of the long knives"; and this theory was adopted by that ingenious theorist, Algernon Herbert. In the whole history of Welsh literature there is, perhaps, not a more curious specimen of perverted ingenuity than the elaboration of this

theory by Davies and Herbert; but it has failed to commend itself to the judgment and conviction of others; and the opposite view, that it recorded a battle or series of battles in the north, in the sixth century, in which the Ottadeni bore a part, has been generally accepted. By both the poem was considered as one entire poem, an authentic production of the sixth century.

The first to cast doubt upon this was the writer of a letter in the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* (vol. i, p. 354), who is generally supposed to have been Mr. Price himself, the then possessor of the MS. This writer was the first to point out the line,

"A phen dyvynwal vrych brein accnoyn,"

which he thus translates, "and the head of Donald Brec, the ravens gnawed it"; and to suggest that the person here meant was Donald Brec, king of Dabriada, who was slain in 642; which leads to the necessary inference that the author who witnessed his slaughter in that year, could not have been Aneurin. He also objects to the line,

"Er pan aett daear ar Aneurin"

("Since the time that earth went on Aneurin") as referring to the death and sepulture of Aneurin, which had already taken place, and that the poem could not have been composed by him.

With regard to the first objection, he points out that there are obvious inaccuracies in the *Irish Annals* with regard to this event, the death of Donald being likewise entered under 678 and 686, and therefore it may have really belonged to a still earlier date; but this explanation is not tenable, for there is no event in that early period, the real date of which can be more certainly ascertained; and there is no doubt that it really took place in the year 642.

The second objection he does not attempt to obviate; but the usual explanation is that it refers to his imprisonment in a chamber under ground, supposed to be described in stanza 45, where he says:

"I am not headstrong and petulant.
I will not avenge myself on him who drives me.
I will not laugh in derision.
Under foot there is gravel.
My knee is stretched,
My hands are bound,
In the earthen house,
With an iron chain
Around my two knees.
Yet of the mead from the horn,
And of the men of Catraeth,
I, Aneurin, will compose,
As Taliessin knows,
An elaborate song
Or a strain to Gododin,
Before the dawn of the bright day."

But this explanation is not satisfactory; for the language of the "Gododin" clearly implies that the chamber under ground was the

tomb in which he was confined by death. Thus in the next stanza it is called the chamber of death; and in the same way it is said of Gwair, who is described in the *Preiddeu Annwn* as similarly imprisoned:

"And for the spoils of Annwn gloriously he sings,
And till doom shall continue his lay."

The explanation seems to me to be this. These old poems are frequently added to and continued by later hands; and when the continuation is written in the person of the original author, the machinery is introduced of his being called from his tomb for the purpose. The poem of the "Gododin" is very clearly divided into two parts by the remarkable stanza, 45, which Aneurin speaks in his own person:

"I am not headstrong and petulant," etc.

He then describes his imprisonment under ground; and this is followed by the following lines:

"Yet of the mead and of the horn,
I, Aneurin, will sing
What is known to Taliessin,
Who communicates to me his thoughts,
Or a strain of the 'Gododin,'
Before the dawn of the bright day."

The first part of the "Gododin," before stanza 45, is one consistent poem, connected together, treating evidently of the same war, and with the same characters appearing in it. The second part, after stanza 45, begins with the line,

"The chief exploit of the north did
The hero accomplish";

and this exploit was

"From the cruel, subterraneous
Prison he brought me out;
From the chamber of death," etc.

And we are then introduced to a different set of incidents, and to different characters, not mentioned in the first part, intermixed with stanzas relating to the incidents of the first. The two divisions of the poem are very different in their character. It is in this second division that Dyfynwal Vrych is introduced. In the first part there is no allusion to him whatever; and, moreover, the passages in the second part, which allude to the battle of Catraeth, correspond, to a large extent, with similar passages in the "Gorchan Maelderw." I consider, therefore, that the first part is the original poem of the "Gododin"; and that the second part is a later continuation, made up partly of passages from the "Gorchan Maelderw," which was attributed to Taliessin, and to which allusion seems to be made in the line in which Aneurin says of the rest of the poem,

"Taliessin communicates to me his thoughts";

and partly of later events, including the death of Dyfynwal Vrych,

which may have been so far connected with the battle of Catraeth that the district called Gododin may have been the scene of both.

For this later continuation, the machinery was devised of Aneurin being called up from his chamber of death under ground; and we seem to find the same machinery in a poem to which a continuation has been manifestly added by a later hand,—I mean the “Cyvoesi Myrdin,” which seems to consist of three parts,—an original poem terminating with Cadwallader, a continuation to the time of Howel Dda, and a still later interpolation of the reign of Henry II, and in which we find the same machinery of Myrdin being called from the dead :

V. 126. “Alas, dearest ! the cold separation
When comes the day of tumult,
Thy imprisonment beneath the earth
By a monarch valiant and fearless.”

V. 129. “Arise from thy prison, and unfold the books
Of the Owen without fear,
And the speech of Bun and the visions of sleep.”

I consider, therefore, that in the continuation, or second part, there is a clear allusion to the death of Dyfnwall Brych in 642, as having happened before that part of the poem was written; but the first part may, notwithstanding, relate to different and earlier events; and in endeavouring to ascertain the historical events which really form the subject of this poem, it is necessary to distinguish between the statements made in the first and in the second division of it.

Looking, then, to the first division of the poem, we can see that the parties to the struggle were, on the one side,—*first*, the Bedin Gododin, or host of Gododin. Thus in stanza 3, “he retreated not before the Bedin Gododin”; and in stanza 12, “exceedingly great were the bloodshed and death, of which they were the cause, before the Bedin Gododin.” *Secondly*, the men of Deifr and Brynaich, as in stanza 5, “Before his blades fell five battalions of the men of Deifr and Brynach uttering groans; and stanza 9, “If I had judged me to be on the side of the tribe of Brynaich, not a phantom of a man would I have left alive.” These were the enemies, and a part of them were Saxons, as in stanza 13 Tudwlch Hir, near his lands and towns, slaughtered the Saxons for seven days.

On the other side there were : *first*, the Gosgord, or retinue of Mynyddawg, as in stanza 11, “Their blades were white as lime, their helmets split into four parts before the Gosgord of Mynyddawg Mwynvawr. The Gosgord usually consisted of three hundred men with their three leaders. Thus in stanza 18, “three chiefs and three hundred.” These were cut off to a man, as appears from stanza 31 :

“The Gosgord of Mynyddawg, renowned in a trial,
Their life was the price of their banquet of mead.
When they were slain they also slaughtered :
Not one to his native home returned.”

And in “Gorchan Maelderw”:

"Three chiefs and three hundred :
Alas ! none returned."

Secondly, the Brython, as in stanza 18, "three sovereigns of the people came from the Brython—Cywri and Cynon and Cynrain, from Aeron." Of this body it is said in stanza 21, "three heroes and three score and three hundred, wearing the golden torques of those who hurried forth after the revelry. But three escaped by the prowess of the gushing sword,—the two war-dogs of Aeron and Cynon the dauntless."

Besides these bodies especially mentioned, were the followers of numerous other leaders mentioned in the poem. These were: *first*, Caeawg. He is the hero of stanzas 2, 3, 4, and 5. This name, like that of Mynyddawg, is obviously an epithet, *caeawg* being an adjective formed from *cae*, "an enclosure"; just as Mynyddawg is from *mynydd*, "a mountain"; and the one signifies the man of the enclosure; as the other does the mountaineer. Who Caeawg was, we know from stanza 5, where his name is given as Hyvaid Hir. The first stanza of the poem is usually supposed to be addressed to a person called Owen, from one of the lines generally translated, "Alas, Owain my beloved friend !" But this translation is incorrect. The words are, "Ku kyueillt ewein"; and the natural construction is, "Thou beloved friend of Owen." The person meant is evidently the same who is celebrated in the four following stanzas under the epithet "*Caeawg*," viz. Hyfeidd Hir, who is mentioned in a poem in the *Book of Taliessin* in close connexion with an Owain of Mona: "Haerndur and Hyfeidd and Gwallawg and Owen of Mona"; *second*, Tudwulch Hir and Cywulch, said to be of the clan of Godebawg; *third*, Cydywall from Gwynedd, in stanza 19; *fourth*, Buddvan son of Bluddvan; *fifth*, Gwenabwy son of Gwen; *sixth*, Caredeg; *seventh*, Caradawg; *eighth*, Rhiwawn Hir.

The scene of the struggle was Catraeth and Gododin. These were not two names for the same place; but two districts evidently adjoining each other. Stanzas 6 and 7 begin with the expression, "warriors went to Gododin"; and stanzas 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, which follow, with that of "warriors went to Catraeth"; and as a part of the enemy were called "the host of Gododin," it is plain that stanzas 6 and 7 describe the march of the enemy to Gododin; and the stanzas which follow, that of the British army to Catraeth; and this latter army proceeded from Eidyn Ysgor, or the fort of Eidyn, as in stanza 13,—

"There hastened not to Caltraeth
A chief so magnificent;
Never was there such a host
From the fort of Eidyn";

The country about this fort seems to be called the Mordei, as in stanza 20, "I drank of the wine and the mead of the Mordei"; and in connexion with Catraeth there is repeated allusion to a rampart with a ditch, as in stanzas 21, 27, 39, as separating the armies.

Mr. Williams supposes that the Catraeth was the Catrail in Roxburghshire, and that this was the rampart meant; and that the battle was fought between the Cymry and the Saxons in the year 570.

Villemarqué, in his *Poemes des Bardes Bretons*, places the battle on the banks of the river Calder in Lanarkshire, from which it was called Kaldtræaz or Kaltræaz, the name which he gives the battle, and fixes its date at 578.

Stephens, in his *Literature of the Cymry*, considers that the subject of the poem is an expedition of the Ottadeni against the town of Cataracton, which he considers to be the place meant by Caltraeth; but I believe he has abandoned this idea, and now considers it to refer to the battle mentioned by Bede as having been fought between Aidan, king of the Scots of Dabriada, and Ethelfrid, king of Northumbria, at Degsanstane in 603.

Mr. Nash, in a very ingenious paper in the *Cambrian Journal* (1861), identifies it with the battle fought between Oswy and Penda, where the latter was slain at Winwedfield, which battle is called by Nennius and the *Annales Cambriæ* "strages Gai Campi"; and he seems to identify it likewise with the battle in which Donald Brec was slain, which he calls Vraith Cairvin.

Mr. Vere Irving, in several papers, adopts Villemarqué's name for this battle, Kaltræaz, and considers that it relates to a seven years' struggle, from the year 642, where he finds in the *Irish Annals*, in the same year with the death of Donald Brec, "Cath Oswei et Britones," to the year 650, when he finds the entry, "Cath Ossei fra Pante." The latter, however, is an erroneous entry. It refers to the battle of Winwedfield, and the same entry is repeated under the year 656.

The objection to the first three suppositions is, that they place the site of the battle far inland, while the poem clearly implies that both Gododin and Catraeth were washed by the sea. A poem in the *Book of Taliessin* refers to the Morhoed Gododin, or seas of Gododin; and the term "Mordei" certainly implies that it was on the sea-shore. The theory of Mr. Nash has certainly one feature to recommend it, viz. that the name "Gai Campum" does certainly greatly resemble Catraeth. This word is ordinarily spelt "Cat-traeth," and translated the "battle-strand"; but in every poem in which it is mentioned, it is uniformly spelt "Catraeth"; and the syllables which compose it are not "Cat-traeth," but "Ca-traeth." *Traeth*, meaning a shore, may be translated *campum*; and the resemblance of *ca* and *gai* is very striking. But in other respects Mr. Nash's theory is not borne out. Bede expressly says that the battle was fought "in regione Loidis," which Mr. Nash understands as meaning Lothian; but Bede mentions the "regio" in another place, where he alludes to a "villa in regione quæ vocatur Loidis," in terms which shew that Leeds must have been meant. There is certainly in the poem no allusion to either Oswy or Penda; and the battle where Donald Brec was slain was fought in 642, while the battle of Winwedfield was fought in 654. Moreover, the battle in

which Donald Brec was killed is in no chronicle called "Fraith Cairvin"; and it is much to be regretted that historians will still continue to confuse matters by quoting at second hand, while good editions of the original chronicles are accessible to them. This quotation is taken from Ritson's *Annals*, which were compiled from the *Annals of Tighernac* and the *Annals of Ulster*, and are full of typographical blunders. The account is more correctly given in the edition of these Irish *Annals* by O'Connor; and in the original MSS. the name is given in *Tighernac* as Strathcauin, and in the *Annals of Ulster* Strath Cairinn.

For the name of Kaeltraez, given to it by Villemarqué, and adopted by Mr. Vere Irving, there is no authority whatever. Some editions of the *Gododin* read "Galtraeth" instead of "Catraeth"; but this does not warrant such a transformation of the word, and there is a certain affectation in using Kymric words in their Breton form. The same observations apply to Mr. Irving's dates as to Mr. Nash's.

It is plain from the poem that two districts, called respectively *Gododin* and *Catraeth*, met at or near a great rampart; that both were washed by the sea, and that in connexion with the latter was a fort called "Eydin." Nennius mentions *Manau Guotodin* as a "regio in sinistrali parte insulæ," an expression equivalent in Welsh to "y gogledd," or the north; that is, that part of the island north of the Humber. The name *Guotodin* is plainly the same as the *Gododin* of *Aneurin*. On the other hand, *Manau* is the same name as that of the Island of Man. There was, therefore, an island called *Ynys Manau*, and there was a district *Yn y Gogledd*, called "*Manau Guotodin*," or *Manau* of *Gododin*, to distinguish it. The Kymric word "*Manau*" has its equivalent in old Gaelic in the word "*Manand*." And here, too, we find both an island and a district; for the Isle of Man is called "*Innis*" or "*Eilean Manand*"; and *Tighernac* has in 581, "*Cath Manand in quo victor erat Aedan Mc Gabran*"; and again, in 711, "*stragis Pictorum in Campo Manand a Saxonis*." Now the *Saxon Chronicle*, in describing the same event, has "*Beorhtfrith eoldorman fought with the Pechtas between Hæfe and Caere*"; and Henry of Huntingdon has, "*Tunc etiam Berfrid Consul restitit superbis Pictorum, dimicans inter Heue et Cere; ubi multitudine magna Pictorum strata, ultor extitit regis Egfridi et Consulis Berti*"; and by Gaimar they are called "*dous ewes*," or two rivers.

There was, therefore, a "*Campum Manand*," which lay between *Hæfe* or *Heve* and *Caere* or *Cere*, and which seems to have been occupied by *Picts*.

The name of *Eydin* takes us at once to *Lothian*, where we have *Dunedin* or *Edinburgh*, and *Caredin* on the shore, called by *Gildas* "*antiquissima civitas Britonum*." That the *Edin* in these two names is the *Eydin* of the poem is clear from a poem in the *Black Book of Caermarthen*, where *Edinburgh* is called "*Mynydd Eidin*"; and in a poem in the *Book of Taliessin* there is the expression, "*Rhuing Dineiddyn ac Dineiddwg*," where *Dineiddyn* can hardly be

anything but Dunedin. At Caredin the Roman Wall terminated; and here there was a headland and a promontory jutting out into the Firth, on which was a royal castle called Blackness, where probably was the "Ynys Eiddin yn y Gogled" mentioned in the *Bonedd y Saint*. Caredin is not far from the river Avon, and parallel to it flows the river Carron; the two rivers enclosing a district at the west end of which is a great moor still called Slamanan; in old Gaelic, "Sliabh Manand," or the moor or plain of Manand. This is "Campum Manand," and the Avon and Carron are meant by Hæfe and Caere. Gododin, which contained it, was therefore equivalent to the north part of Lothian, and was washed by the Firth of Forth. The *Irish Annals* frequently mention a district called Calathros, as in *Tighernac*, "Cath i Calathros in quo victus est Domnal Brec"; and in 736, "Bellum Cnuice Cairpre i calathros uc etar linn du"; which latter place can be identified as Carriber on the Avon, near Linlithgow. Calathros, therefore, adjoined this district. Its Latin form was Calatria. In a charter in the chartulary of Glasgow, Duffodir de Calatria is a witness; and Walter L'Espece, in his address at the Battle of the Standard in 1130, as reported by Ailred, in alluding to William the Conqueror's expedition to Abernethy, says, "cum Angliæ victor Willielmus Laodoniam Calatriam Scotiam usque ad Abernaeth. penetravit"; where Calatria is placed between Lothian and Scotland proper north of the Firths. Calatria is surely the Kymric Gáltraeth, which we know was the same place as Catraeth. The requirements of the site seem, therefore, satisfied in that part of Scotland where Lothian meets Stirlingshire, in the two districts of Gododin and Catraeth, both washed by the sea of the Firth of Forth; and where the great Roman Wall terminates at Caredin, or the fort of Eidinn.

As to the date of the battle, we are not without indications. The poem opens with several stanzas devoted to two heroes disguised under the epithets of Caeawg and Mynydawg. Caeawg is derived from *cae*, meaning in its primary sense "an enclosure"; in its secondary, "a necklace." Mr. Williams has understood it in its latter sense, when he translates it "adorned with his wreath"; but as the true signification of Catraeth seems to be "the strand of the *cae*, or enclosure," I am inclined to think that it is here used in its primary sense, and that Caeawg signifies "the man of the enclosure," in contradistinction to Mynydawg, "the man of the mountains," or the mountaineer. Caeawg, the poem tells us, was Hyfaidd Hir, of whom it is said in one of the *Triads*, "Three kings, who were of the sons of strangers,—Gwryat, son of Gwryan yn y Gogled; and Cadafael, son of Cynfedw in Gwynedd; and Hyfaidd Hir, son of Bleidic in Deheubarth." Cadafael, however, is mentioned in another *Triad* as having killed Jago vab Beli, king of Gwynedd, who was succeeded by his son Cadvan in 603, who ruled over Gwynedd and all Wales. The period when these three interlopers reigned was apparently prior to 603; and this is the exact period when, in the line of monarchs, the direct line is interrupted, and Caredig is interposed

between Maelgwn and Cadfan,—a period extending, according to Matthew of Westminster, from 586 to 603.

Now there seems to be an allusion to Hyfiedd having been contemporary with two plebeian kings in Gwynedd, and the Gogled in stanza 4, where it is said of Caeawg,

“He repelled the violence of *ignoble men*, and blood trickled down,
For *Gwynedd* and the *Gogledd* would have come to his share
By the advice of the son of Yagyran,
Who wore the broken shield.”

Again, in stanza 19 Cydywal is mentioned in connexion with Gwynedd. In stanza 30 Gwrien is mentioned among the enemies; and in stanzas 28 and 29 Carëdig is celebrated as the amiable leader. This would place the battle between 586 and 603.

But who was Mynyddawg, or the mountaineer, of whom we know that his *gogord*, or retinue, consisted of three hundred and three warriors, and that they were slain to a man, while he escaped and was ultimately victorious? Now Adomnan, in his life of St. Columba, has the following heading to one of his chapters, “De Bello Miathorum,” and proceeds thus: “*Alio in tempore hoc est post multos a supra memorata bello*” (Culdrebene, fought in 561) *annorum transcurrens cum esset vir sanctus in Iona insula, subito ad suum dicit ministratorem Diarnitium cloccam pulsa. Cujus sonitu fratres incitati ad ecclesiam ipso sancto presule præeunte ocius currunt. Ad quos ibidem flexis genibus inquit. Nunc intente pro hoc populo et Aidano rege dominum oremus hac enim hora ineunt bellum. Et post modicum intervallum egressus oratorium respiciens in cœlum inquit nunc Barbari in fugam vertuntur: Aidanoque quamlibet infelix tamen concessa victoria est. Sed et de numero de exercitu Aidani interfectorum trecentorum et trium virorum vir beatus propheticè enarravit.*” The allusion to the three chiefs and three hundred slain at Cattraeth seems unmistakable; and if so, Mynyddawg was Aidan king of Dalriada. The combatants were, therefore, on the one side, the Britons and the Scots under Aidan; the enemy, or “Barbari,” were the pagan Saxons and the half pagan Picts of Manau Guotodin, here called the “bedin” or host of Gododin. The identity of the battle of Cattraeth with the “bellum Miathorum” of Adomnan enables us to fix its date; for in another chapter, in giving the fate of the sons of Aidan, he says: “*Nam Arturius et Eochodius Find non longo post temporis intervallo Miathorum superius memorato in bello trucidati sunt*”; and *Tighernac*, in 596, has “*Iugulatio filiorum Aidan, i.e. Bran et Domanquet et Eochaidh Find et Artur i cath chirchind in quo victus est Aidan.*” The history of Caeawg, therefore, places the battle between 586 and 603, and that of Mynyddawg fixes it at 596.

The first part of the poem alone relates to this battle; the second part, or continuation, contains in it an allusion to the death of Dyfynwal Vrych, or Domnal Brec, which the bard saw from the heights of Adoyn. The date of this event is known to be in 642. The site is not difficult to fix. *Tighernac* calls it *Strathcauin*; the *Annals of*

Ulster, Strathcairinn. The upper part of the vale of the Carron, through which the river, after rising in the Fintry Hills, flows, is called Strathcarron; but it also bore the name of Strathcawin. Thus in the Morton chartulary there is a charter by Alexander II which mentions "Dundaf et Strathkawan quæ fuerunt foresta nostra," and Dundaff adjoins Strathcarron. In the statistical account of the parish of Fintry there is the following notice: "At the foot of the rock which encircles the western brow of the Fintry Hills there is a considerable extent of table-land, and on the descent below this starts out a knoll, commonly known by the name of the *Dun or Down*, of a singular appearance. Its front is a perpendicular rock fifty feet high. The western extremity of this rock is one solid mass." This is surely the height of Adoyne.

I am, etc.,

WILLIAM F. SKENE.

LAYERS IN BURIAL MOUNDS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—The account given in the April number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, by the Rev. H. Prichard, of the opening of a burial mound in the Malldraeth, contains some particulars of interest. It is therein stated that several layers of animal matter were found; and it would appear that these had resulted from a succession of operations or deposits. Upon this subject I would recommend Mr. Prichard to consult a most interesting work which was reviewed in the *Arch. Camb.* a short time since; I mean that of Dr. Wilson on the *Pre-historic or Early Remains of North America*. It appears that in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi mounds have been opened also containing layers of burnt materials; that in many of them a cavity, however, had been first scooped out of the earth, and sometimes lined with stones; that in this a deposit of burnt animal matter was found; that this had been covered with earth; and that upon this another deposit had been made; and so on successively. The exploration of these mounds was made by Messrs. Squier and Davis and other antiquaries; and the opinion entertained on the spot seems to have been that these mounds were for sepulchral purposes attended by sacrificial ceremonies, in which possibly slaves had been put to death, and burnt. If I remember rightly, portions of bones of animals were found among these deposits. The whole subject is one that is now attracting much notice, especially since the discoveries made in the north of Scotland; and it seems to me that we may expect corresponding results from the numerous burial-mounds to be met with in many parts of Wales.

It is very gratifying to observe that Mr. Prichard took care to replace the contents of the mound, and, in so far as he could, to preserve the monument. This ought to be a rule invariably adhered to in all similar operations.

I am, etc.,

June 2, 1865.

A MEMBER.

CRUG LÂS, ANGLESEY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—In my letter upon the Crug Lâs, published in the April number of our Journal, I stated that the remains discovered in that tumulus were certainly human. Having cause to believe that in one or two instances this assertion has been received with distrust, I wish to remove all hesitation and doubt from the minds of my readers by at once informing them that, as regards this view of the subject, I have the full support of Professor Owen, to whom bone-specimens from the Crug Lâs were sent, and to whom I am indebted for much kindness. His words run thus, "the fragments of bone are unquestionably human." I may add that I do not think any person of ordinary intelligence could have followed us in our investigation of that mound, and observed its six or eight layers of a substance which was unmistakably bone, although too far advanced in decomposition to be handled; the extent and position of those layers; the unctuous and worm-traversed character of the clay which intervened them; the fragments of skulls and of other bones found amongst them, which became more numerous and perfect as we descended; and which, although small, were thoroughly human in character,—without being convinced that he was inspecting a huge grave containing a mass of human bodies. When we remember that in early times Anglesey was remarkably a battlefield of Irish, Welsh, Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans; where the disciplined and well-armed invader fought with an unsparing hand against the undisciplined and slightly-armed native, who cared not to succumb, because contending for home, friends, and freedom, we may naturally look for such vestiges as the Crug Lâs on uncultivated portions of the island.

Among the things which distinguish this tumulus from the numerous grave-mounds opened by Mr. Bateman and others, is the absence of pottery and of all traces of cremation. The rushes underneath it are unburnt; and although they have the gloss and darkness of coal, their stems are easily separated in short lengths by immersion in water.

By some inadvertence, a sentence of my former letter upon this subject was omitted in the printing, which I think of importance, because it was intended to record the number of small tumuli to be met with half a mile south-west of the Crug Lâs. They are seven in number, and are comprised within a line of four hundred yards.

I am, Sir, very obediently yours,

Dinam. July 25th.

H. P.

EARLY INTERMENTS, CARDIGANSHIRE.

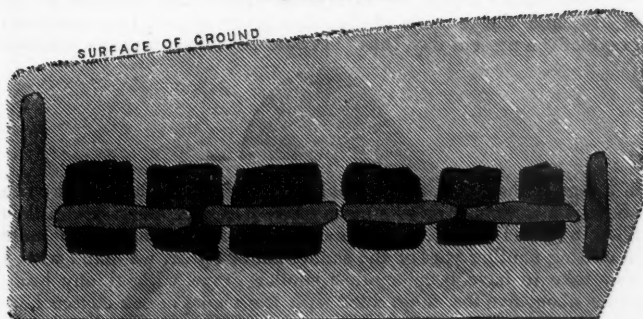
TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

Belmont, Tenby, 12th April, 1865.

SIR,—In January last, while forming a new road through a farm of mine, called Ffynnonoer, in the parish of Llandyfriog, Cardiganshire, we cut through a grave of great antiquity. It lay nearly north and south, and was marked out with stones set erect, having the largest stone as a *head-stone*. This we decided from the position in which we found some fragments of rib-bones. The floor of the grave was paved with flat stones, on which the body had evidently been placed, and there burnt *in situ*; the wood ashes and red earth shewing this to have been the case, as well as the inner faces of the upright stones. There was no external appearance of any tumulus; but the field had been frequently ploughed over, which would account for that having disappeared. The floor was about two feet, or a little more, below the face of the ground. The stones were disposed thus:



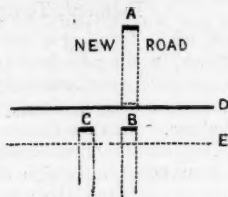
Longitudinal Section.



Formation of Road.

The stones were the common slate-stone of the country, and would have attracted no notice but from their position. The upper part of the head-stone seemed to have been touched more than once with the ploughshare in passing over the spot. The only fragments of bones found were portions of the ribs of a man, which shewed that he was slightly above the average size.

Some weeks afterwards we found two other graves, just at the foot of the other, in clearing away some of the side of the new road to build a stone one-sided hedge to it. They were placed thus :



A is the first grave surrounded by the stones ; B and C the second and third, with only a head-stone to each, the dotted lines shewing the position of the burnt ashes and reddened fragments of burnt clay ; D the line of our original cutting from the side of the road ; E the line of our cutting into the earth at the side of the road to make the stone facing which is now built up on the line D. These graves are about three feet below the present surface of the ground. It would be difficult to say whether or no there had been a flat tumulus over these graves, as the land has been so often ploughed over ; but I incline to the opinion that there had been one, as the surface of the ground appears *slightly* elevated. No other stones seemed to surround these two graves. Each had only a head-stone of the common slaty rock of the neighbourhood ; B standing about eighteen inches above the floor of the grave, and C about fifteen inches ; and the remains of the ashes being heaped like a common grave of the present day, thus. I could not detect whether the floor



of the grave had been the original surface of the earth, and the earth above it a tumulus ; or whether a grave had been dug out, and then filled in ; but I incline, as I before said, to the tumulus view, because in cutting another part of the same road last year, we found what I now take to have been another similar grave, without any head-stone, about five feet long, filled with fragments of oak charcoal, on the side of a hill.

In this grave the earth had been dug out, and a different kind filled in ; but in the present ones there was no difference in the earth covering the remains. I think all these graves are those of warriors slain in battle, and buried where they fell ; the neighbourhood teeming with old camps, one of them, Dinas (now all ploughed over, and the stones removed), being a Roman one of some size. The adjoining river, Kerry, no doubt takes its name (Caerau) from them. I

would not have the head-stones removed, but built into the stone hedge, and marked the spot by herring-boning that part of the hedge, so as to mark the place.

I am, etc.,

E. C. L. FITZWILLIAMS.

BREUDDWYD MAIR; OR MARY'S DREAM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—About a century ago the Welsh people were generally in the habit of teaching their children the "Credo," "Pader," and "Breuddwyd Mair," the latter being certainly considered by many the most important of the three. I have met with several aged people who were so taught in their youth, from one of whom (Catrin Owen Maethlon) it was that I obtained the following version of "Breuddwyd Mair." As it has never, to my knowledge, been in print, I have no question but that many of your readers will think it good service to preserve it in the pages of your Journal.

I remain yours, etc.

JOHN PUGHE, F.R.C.S.

Bryn Awel, Aberdovey. July 26, 1865.

"Mam wen Mair, wyt ti yn huno?
Ydwyf fy anwyl Fab, yr wyf yn breuddwydio
Mam wen beth a weli yn dy freuddwyd?
Gwelef yth ymlid, ath ddilin, ath ddal, ath roi ar y groes;
A hoelio dy draed ath ddwylo.
Gwr du dall, wedi'r fall ei dwyllo,
A Phig ei ffon, dy biga di dau dy fron ddethau,
Ath holl waed bendigedig yn colli.

O dros fynydd, ac oer fynydd,
Gwelwn Mair, ai Phen ar obenydd,
Yn tirio lle rhwng pob enaid ac uffern.
Tir uffern byth nas cerddo,
Y sawl ai medro, ac ai dywedo
Dair gwaith cyn huno:
Byth wnaiff breuddwyd drwg niwed iddo."

TRANSLATION OF "MARIA'S DREAM."

Blessed mother Maria, dost thou sleep?
Yes, my son, I am dreaming.
Blessed mother, what dost thou behold in thy dream?
I behold thee pursued, followed, captured, and laid on the cross;
Also the nailing of thy hands and feet.
A blind, dark man, deceived of the demon,
With the point of his spear piercing thee under thy left breast,
And all thy blessed blood lost.

From over a mountain, a cold mountain,
Behold Maria, with her head on a pillow,
Digging a space between each soul and Hell.
The Land of Hell may he never tread
Who acquires and thrice repeats (these words) ere he sleeps;
Nor will an evil dream ever do him harm.

Reviews.

LE MORTE ARTHUR. Macmillan & Co.

THIS is an excellent edition of the early poem from the MS. in the Harleian Collection, by Mr. Furnivall, who has already given to the public similar editions of Walter Map's *Queste del Saint Greal*, etc. The volume before us is rendered the more valuable by a prefatory essay from the pen of the late Mr. Herbert Coleridge, which contains a full summary of the mediæval legends of Arthur, and which may be profitably consulted by all who wish to become well acquainted with the subject.

This volume, which is beautifully printed, seems to have been brought out under the auspices of the Early English Text Society, and is an interesting contribution to our knowledge of the older language of England. Mr. Furnivall has been at great pains in rendering the text as accurate as possible, and dedicates his labours to the Poet Laureate, as is most meet and worthy. As a specimen of the poem we subjoin the following:

"Therle had a doughter þat was hym dere,
Mykelle launcelott she be-helde,
hyr Rode was rede as blossom on brere,
Or floure þat springith in the felde;
Glad she was to sitte hym nere,
The noble knight under shelde,
Wepinge was hyr mostè chere,
So mykelle on hym her herte gan helde.
Uppe then Rose þat mayden stille,
And to hyr chamber wente she tho,
Downe vppon hir bedde she felle
That nighe hyr herté brast in two.
launcelot wiste what was hyr wyllle,
Welle he knew by other mo,
hyr brother klepitte he hym tylle,
And to hyr chamber gonne they go;
he satte hym downe for the maydens sake
vppon hyr beddè there she lay,
Courtesely to hyr he spake
For to comforte þat fayre may.

In hyr Arms she gan hym take,
And these wordis ganne she say,
'Sir, bot yif that ye it make,
Saff my lyff no lechè may.'
'lady,' he sayd, 'thou mostè lette,
For me ne giff the no thinge Ille,
In Another stede myne hert is sette,
It is not at myne ownè wille;
In erthe is no thinge that shalle me lette
To be thy knight lowdè and stille,
A-nother tyme we may be mette

Whan thou may better speke thy fille.
 'Sithe I of the ne may haue more,
 As thou arte hardy knight and fre,
 In the turnement *pat* thou wold bere
 Sum signe of mine *pat* men might se:
 'lady, thy sleve thou shalte of-shere,
 I wolle it take for the love of the;
 So did I neuyr no ladyes ere,
 Bot one that most hath lovide me.' "

The merit of the book is much enhanced by the addition of a careful index and glossary; the latter rendering it immediately useful to the student of linguistic archæology. Many curious instances of obsolete forms may be found in it; and we extract a few for the consideration of those among our readers who are learned in "old English":

"FOR BARE, 3741, miscreated = *κακοδαμων* (?) Weymouth: 'for often gives the idea of privation or deterioration to the words before which it is placed.' Bosworth. Cp. 'Forworth, Hampole, l. 780, to come to ruin, to fail, A.S. *forweorthan*.'

GREDDIE, 1838, drew, snatched, from *grede*, cry out suddenly. See a similar transition of meaning under Bray, Braid, in Wedgwood.

LAYNE, 989, 1678, 1694, is not to conceal, 1108, 1132, 1653, is not to be hidden, cp. is nought to hyde, 1336, 1368, 1484, 1936, O.N. *leyna*, to hide.

LEMYN, 3308, A.S. *leōma*, a ray of light, light, flame. Mr. Halliwell quotes

'The sterres, with her lemyng lemen
 Shul sadly falle down fro heuen.'

Cursor Mundi, MS. Coll. Trin., Cantab., f. 134.

REASE, 2909, 2961; REASSE, 3258; RESE, 1957, 2690; RESSE, 2905, 2907, violence, violent act, A.S. *rese*, violence, attack.

WOUNDE, 1070, fear, shrink, A.S. *wandian*, to fear, be afraid, p. *wandode*."

We confess that some of these instances are to us quite new. The form of the volume (a duodecimo) is infinitely more handy than the larger ones in which typographical rarities are sometimes published.

MEMORIALS OF ADARE MANOR. 4to. Privately printed. 1865.

This is, in all respects, a magnificent contribution towards the county history of Limerick. It is the work of the Countess Dowager of Dunraven (an heiress of the family of Wyndham) and of her accomplished son, the present Earl; and it contains a graphic account of the estate and manor house of Adare, and of the various ruins, military and ecclesiastical, found within the park and village. The volume is illustrated by numerous cuts and prints, both of the house and ruins and of the various antiquities preserved, and for the most part found there.

There is also an account of the O'Quins of Inchiquin and Adare, of whom Lord Dunraven is the chief, and of the church and round tower of Dysert, and of some other objects in the immediate neighbourhood of Adare.

The volume is of so interesting an antiquarian character that our readers will, we are sure, be glad, under any circumstances, to see it noticed in our pages ; but it has a direct claim upon us from the fact that Lord Dunraven presided at one of our most successful meetings, and that the place from which he takes his title is one of the most interesting spots in the early history of Glamorgan, and is the inheritance of the Countess Dowager, his mother.

The demesne of Adare is peculiar in the number and variety of its remains. Within, or on the margin of, the park, and less than a mile from the manor house, are found the ruins of an Augustin abbey, a Trinitarian abbey (now used as a Roman Catholic church), and a Franciscan priory. There are also St. Nicholas, the parish church, a small church in the parish churchyard ; a castle of the Kildares and Desmonds on the banks of the Margue, and an ancient bridge across the river. There seem also to have been a house of the Knights of St. John, and a religious foundation dedicated to St. James, of which all traces are now lost. These religious houses were founded and protected by the Fitzgeralds, Earls of Kildare, long the most powerful family in that part of Ireland. They were also protected by the succeeding Earls of Desmond, and only fell, with other similar establishments, at the Reformation. These ruins have escaped the utter destruction that attended so many examples of ecclesiastical architecture in the last and preceding centuries, and they are now protected with most zealous and skilful care.

There is certainly no scene of the kind in England, and probably none in Ireland, which can vie with that presented by the park and village of Adare, where the oaks (from which the name is derived) attain to their largest size, and sward of more than Irish verdure is traversed by the clear waters of the Maigue, and studded by the remains of monastic buildings which have played a considerable part in the transactions of western Ireland, and are not unread of in the history of the kingdom.

In the very midst of this ecclesiastical Paradise stands the ruined Castle of the Desmonds, shewing the intimate alliance between the men of peace and war ; and how cowl and scapulary on the one hand, and sword and mail on the other, were prepared to do battle with all enemies, whether invisible or material. The Castle occupies a gentle slope falling to the right bank of the Maigue ; here a clear though tidal stream, laving the ancient walls of the fortress. A little below a long and narrow bridge of many small arches and heavy piers, crosses the river, and is directly protected by the Castle, which it is thought to rival in antiquity. The Castle, in its present form, may be described as concentric ; but it has undergone one, if not two, important modifications in plan. It is composed of a central keep and an inner and outer ward. The keep stands within, and forms a part of the *enceinte* of the inner ward. This ward, roughly circular, is about 120 feet across, and is enclosed in a curtain, of which the half to the north-west forms a part of the outer defences of the place. The other, or south-eastern half, looks into the outer ward, by which it is covered, and from which it is defended by a wet ditch. The gate-house of

the inner ward is upon its southern side, and its bridge crosses the ditch.

The outer ward is much larger, and forms the south and east sides of the place, the latter being its river-front. In figure it is rectangular, 290 feet along the water, by 205 feet in depth; but its north-west angle is rounded off, and the quarter occupied by the inner ward. The hall and Norman house lie on the south side, and form, with the kitchen, a part of the river-front, which is continued at right angles as a mere curtain-wall along the east and north fronts; in the former having a postern opening, and in the latter a gateway.

At the west end the river-front also turns at right angles, to form the west front, in which is a regular gatehouse. The west and north fronts are prolonged across the wet moat, which they stop, and reach and unite with the curtain of the inner ward. There is a water-gate from the hall on the river-front.

In general plan the Castle is rectangular, and includes within the walls about six thousand square yards; and, including the ditch, about one and three quarters statute acres.

The **KEEP** is quadrangular, about 40 feet in the side; and its east and west faces are flanked with broad, flat, pilaster-strips, which do not cover the angle. The walls are about 8 feet thick. The ground-floor is divided by a north and south wall, and vaulted. The north end of the east vault is again walled off, and forms a small dungeon, 9 feet by 7 feet, in which a manacle was found, and which is lighted by a small acutely oval loop on the east side. From the south chamber a narrow stair, restored of undue width, led to the first floor. The present doorway is on the west face, ground floor, and is connected with a hole, perhaps a cistern. This door, however, is modern, and probably the enlargement of a loop. The proper entrance was, no doubt, on the first floor, south face; but this and the adjacent parts of the east and west walls are destroyed from the first floor level. In the north wall of this floor is a small square door, probably an alteration, and intended to communicate by a plank with the adjacent curtain. The north wall is perfect, and of great height. A weather-table inside, and some difference in the masonry, seem to indicate that the original keep had a gable roof, concealed, as at Portchester, by the battlements; and that this roof was removed, and the walls raised, so as to give two upper stories. This upper wall has triforial passages and mural chambers, and the usual Irish stepped battlements, reached by narrow stone stairs resting on a sort of flying buttress. This is, no doubt, a late Norman keep, of rude but sound masonry. It forms a part of the wall of the inner ward, its east face ranging with the curtain, while the building itself stands within the ward. The ground floor of the keep is several feet below the level of the ward, which has probably been raised by the deepening of the ditch.

The **INNER WARD** being, as has been said, a rough circle, is contained within a curtain of about 7 feet thick, 10 to 12 feet high inside, and 20 to 25 feet without. It has a battlement-walk of about 4 feet broad, without a rere-wall, and a parapet with embrasures of 18 ins.

opening, and loops of 6 ins. alternating at about 12 feet intervals. It is reached by open steps, and near the south-west part is a half-round buttress tower, open behind, of the height of the curtain. Opposite, at the north-east part, where the wall is joined by the curtain of the outer ward, loops are arranged to rake the wall on either face. There is no direct communication between the battlements and the keep.

On the south side is the **GATE-HOUSE**, a simple structure with one story above the battlements, and opening upon them; and below, a mere vaulted passage with lateral loops. There was evidently always a drawbridge; but there is no trace of a portcullis. The gate-house stands on the edge of the wet ditch, into which, having no foundation whatever, it is in danger of sliding.

The space between the keep and the gate-house, being the south-east quarter of the ward, has been occupied by buildings. There also is a very singular segmental stone platform with steps, thought to have been the base of a wooden bridge communicating with the entrance to the keep. The south-east half of the inner ward is covered, as has been stated, by the semicircular wet ditch, about 15 feet wide and 230 feet in length, and stopped abruptly at each end by the curtains of the outer ward. The north end seems to have been always, as now, completely closed. In the south wall is a sluice, probably old, by which the ditch could be drained and refilled at low and high tides.

The **OUTER WARD** is completely commanded on its north-east face by the keep and inner ward. The curtain upon its north and east faces is a mere unbuttressed wall about 20 feet high and 6 feet thick, with a battlement and parapet with alternate loops and embrasures. In the east face, near the river, is a postern gate, 5 feet 6 ins. wide, with restored arch, communicating with the kitchen and offices; and in the north face is a similar but loftier gateway with a drop pointed arch opening direct into the ward. This gateway was, no doubt, covered by the adjacent abbey, and by some outer wall of defence, of which a strong gateway remains. This north curtain contains a garde-robe, with a drain at the foot of the wall. The west face of this ward commences at the river by a rectangular, projecting tower; and connected with this is the west wall of the Norman house, which ranges with, and is part of, the wall.

Next to this is the **WEST GATE-HOUSE**, a considerable building, with spacious entrance and portcullis below; and a large chamber, communicating with the battlements, above. There was a drawbridge over an exterior ditch cut from the river, and extending as high as the Manor Mill, which stood on its counterscarp, and was fed by a leat which formed a sort of wet ditch in advance of the north front of the Castle.

The **HALL** stood in this ward towards the centre of the river front. It measured 75 feet by 37 feet, clear, and was divided by four piers, two on a side, with three aisles, two of 7 feet each, and the central 22 feet. These piers stand about 15 feet from the west or dais end of the hall and 30 feet from the lower end. Their foundations only

remain, but it is clear from the appearance of the west wall that they carried no arches, but gave support to the beams of the roof.

The hall had three coupled windows, each in recesses, towards the river, one of which has an inserted head, and in the sill of another is a water drain. There is also a water gate with tall jambs and a pointed arch, opening immediately upon the river. In the same wall, towards the east end, another door opens into a small chamber, overhanging the river.

On the north side, towards the ward, the wall is much broken down, but there were two windows, perhaps of larger size; and towards the east end of this wall is the principal door of 4 feet opening, with a porch of 13 feet projection and 10 feet breadth. One of the bases and part of a pedestal, of fine red sandstone, shew the door jambs to have been three coupled columns in the early English style.

The west, or wall behind the dais, has no openings. The wall is perfect, and measures 15 feet to the roof and 35 feet to the point of the gable.

In the east wall, of which only the lower part remains, and this has been restored, are a central and two side doors, all opening outwards and with exterior and bar holes. As the two side doors open into close chambers, probably cellars, the bars must have been worked from the central passage, which led to the KITCHEN, the place of which is indicated by an oven, a small well, and an opening towards the river, outside of which the bed of the stream was encroached upon by the rubbish and refuse of centuries, which has recently been removed, and the bones, oyster-shells, and domestic articles carefully examined, and such as were worth it preserved at Adare. East of the kitchen is a small garderobe in the river wall.

The west of the hall is an open space with a small well, and beneath that, and occupying the south-west corner of the ward, is the NORMAN HOUSE. This is a rectangular building of two stories, measuring 55 feet by 31 feet, with walls 4 feet thick and battering below on the river front. This house is of two stories, the lower probably cellars or stables, broken up by partition walls, perhaps additions, and lighted on the river front by three loops. The upper walls are worked over, inwards, so as to be about 4 feet 10 inches thick.

The upper floor, like the lower, was entered by a door in the north wall, near the west end. The stair was exterior, and seems to have been of timber with a stone base.

This floor was evidently one room, probably a hall. It has two windows on each side, and one in the east end. The west wall, also the curtain, is ruined, and may have contained a fire-place. The floor was of timber, and the joist holes are two feet square. The windows have been much mutilated and repaired; but the remains shew them to have been coupled, each round headed, and placed in a recess with parallel sides and stone window seats. These recesses seem to have had a plain bold bead-moulding at the angle, and a flat segmental arch. Outside each single window was surrounded by a bold bead, resting on the north side, on a bold Norman rounded string course, returned upwards beyond the window.

In the east wall, on each side of the gable, are loops, probably opening from a parapet. All the strings and mouldings are of red sandstone.

At the south-west corner of the house is a square tower flanking its river face, and built over the stream. In its base is a tall narrow arch, under which the water flows. This tower may be as old as the house; but it has been much altered in connection with the west curtain, and the windows are insertions. Probably this was used as a more private hall, and here were the withdrawing rooms and garderobes.

Lord Dunraven points out the striking resemblance, or rather identity, between this building and the Norman House at Christ Church, described in Turner's *Domestic Architecture*. This also has a flanking tower, with a passage for the water of the river.

It seems probable, from the general aspect of the ground, that the castle was preceded by a military mound or rath, of which the inner ward represents the enclosure and the moat, the circumscribing ditch, and this view is strengthened by the discovery, recently, in the ditch, of various early weapons, one of which was a wooden sword. Upon this, before 1226, was probably built the keep, by Geoffrey de Morreis, one of the early Norman settlers, when no doubt the ditch was deepened and the rath palisaded.

The Norman house must have been built about the same time, perhaps on the accession of the Fitzgeralds. Nearer to the keep there would not be space for it—and probably its own walls, the river, and the adjacent keep, with perhaps a palisade and ditch along its west front were considered a sufficient defence.

The next step, to suit the occasional residence of the Earls of Kil-dare, would probably be the construction of a larger hall, and the enclosure within a curtain wall of the whole area, which would be subdivided into two parts by the ditch and defences contiguous to the keep. This was doubtless executed in the early English period, to which the hall evidently belongs.

Afterwards, the inner ward was probably rendered complete by the construction of its inner curtain and gate-house, and the hall raised about three feet, as seen on its west gable, and its lateral walls strengthened by the addition of buttresses, which appear to belong to the decorated period. It may be that the circle of the inner ward with its gate-house is of earlier date than the works of the outer ward, but an examination of the two points at which the west and north curtains abut against that of the inner ward, seems to indicate that the completion of the inner ward was the later work, which otherwise might have been doubted.

Cambrian Archaeological Association.

DOUGLAS MEETING.—1865.

THE Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Association was held at Douglas, in the Isle of Man, on the 21st of August, and continued through the four following days.

The preliminary arrangements had been effectually carried out by the members (or rather, the more energetic members) of the Local Committee, which consisted of the following gentlemen :

President.

HIS EXCELLENCY HENRY BROUGHAM LOCH, Esq., C.B., Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Man.

Local Committee.

The Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man, *Chairman*.
The Venerable the Archdeacon of Sodor and Man, *Vice-Chairman*.

Lawrence Adamson, Esq., <i>Clifton</i> .	Ridgway Harrison, Esq., H.K., <i>Woodside House</i> .
Alfred W. Adams, Esq., <i>Spring Field</i> .	Wm. Harrison, Esq., H.K., <i>Rock Mount</i> .
Paul Bridson, Esq., <i>Douglas</i> .	John C. T. Harrison, Esq., H.K., <i>Spring Valley</i> .
William Callister, Esq., H.K., <i>Thornhill</i> .	Thomas F. Hutchinson, Esq., <i>The Groves</i> .
T. C. Callow, Esq., <i>Douglas</i> .	Richard Jebb, Esq., Vicar-General, <i>Douglas</i> .
Wm. Watson Christian, Esq., <i>Ballicurri</i> .	J. M. Jeffcott, Esq., H.K., <i>Castletown</i> .
Rev. Wm. Bell Christian, M.A., <i>Milntown</i> .	Rev. W. Kermod, <i>Ramsey</i> .
Captain Cary, <i>Beech House</i> .	Mr. W. Kneale, <i>Douglas</i> .
John F. Crellin, Esq., H.K., <i>Orrysdale</i> .	Rev. Wm. Mackenzie, <i>Douglas</i> .
P. T. Cuninghame, Esq., H.K., <i>Lorn House</i> .	William Milner, Esq., <i>Port Erin</i> .
Rev. Robert Dixon, D.D., Principal of King William College, <i>Castletown</i> .	Robert J. Moore, Esq., H.K., <i>Peel</i> .
W. L. Drinkwater, Esq., 1st Deemster, <i>Kirby</i> .	W. F. Moore, Esq., H.K., <i>Cronkbourne</i> .
George Wm. Dumbell, Esq., <i>Belmont</i> .	J. R. Oliver, Esq., M.D., <i>Douglas</i> .
Alured Dumbell, Esq., <i>Ramsey</i> .	R. T. Quayle, Esq., H.K., <i>Castletown</i> .
E. C. Farrant, Esq., H.K., <i>Balla-killinghan</i> .	Richard Quirk, Esq., Receiver-General, <i>Douglas</i> .
Edward Faulder, Esq., H.K., <i>Northop</i> .	John C. Stephen, Esq., 2nd Deemster, <i>Ramsey</i> .
Edward Moore Gawne, Esq., Speaker of the House of Keys, <i>Kentraugh</i> .	Richard Simpson, Esq., <i>The Cliff</i> .
Rev. Wm. Gill, <i>Malew</i> .	Rev. Samuel Simpson, M.A., <i>Douglas</i> .
James Gell, Esq., <i>Castletown</i> .	F. C. Skrimshire, Esq., <i>Cool Roy</i> .
John Gell, Esq., H.K., <i>Kenna</i> .	John S. Goldie Taubman, Esq., H.K., <i>The Nunnery</i> .
Samuel Harris, Esq., H.B., <i>Marathon</i> .	John Wood, Esq., <i>Douglas</i> .

General Secretaries { Rev. E. L. Barnwell, *Ruthin, Denbighshire*.
of the { Rees Goring Thomas, Esq., M.A., *Ferryside, Kidwelly, Caermarthenshire*.
Association :

Local Secretaries :—Rev. E. L. Barnwell, Esq., Mr. William Kneale, and Dr. Oliver.
Corresponding Local Sec. :—Paul Bridson, Esq., 6, *Woodbourne Square, Douglas*.

Local Treasurer :—Paul Bridson, Esq.

Bankers :—Dumbell, Son, & Howard, *Douglas*.

Curator of the Local Museum :—J. R. Oliver, Esq., M.D.

Conductor of Excursions :—Dr. Oliver.

Office for Reference :—Mr. William Kneale, *Library, Duke Street, Douglas*.

MONDAY, AUGUST 21.

THE General Committee met to consider the annual report prepared by the Secretaries, which being approved of, an adjournment took place to the Hall, when the proceedings of the week were commenced by J. H. SCOURFIELD, Esq., M.P., the President of the past year. This gentleman, in introducing his successor, alluded to the advantages derived from such associations as those of the Cambrian, and of meetings like the present. Not only on such occasions were the various antiquities of the district carefully and scientifically examined and commented on, but a spirit of inquiry and observation was excited amid the residents,—a result frequently attended with the best results. Nor had the Society conferred less important advantages on the Principality by the publication of its Journal, the *Archæologia Cambrensis*; but for the existence of which many valuable articles illustrating the history and antiquities of Wales would never have been published, or probably even written. He hoped, therefore, that the present visit to this island would not be altogether unproductive of good results, both as regarded the illustration of its monumental history, and as directing attention to the monuments themselves, which in some cases are apt to be overlooked, and made little of, by those who should take the highest interest in their preservation. One great benefit to be anticipated from such meetings and investigations was the assistance they frequently rendered in rescuing portions of local history from mere conjecture and hypothesis. All, more or less, professed great interest in the history, especially of their own countries; but then history should at least be based upon, or consistent with, well known facts; and the business of a society like the Cambrian and other similar associations, was to ascertain all that could be ascertained as regards the historical facts of the districts visited. On the previous year, in his own county, he had, as President, been called on to act in some measure as an instructor. He was happy now to retire into the more pleasant one of being instructed; nor would it be the least agreeable of his recollections of his official year, that he had now the pleasure of surrendering the chair to his more able successor, His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of the island.

The new PRESIDENT, on assuming the chair, made the following address to the meeting:—"It is with feelings of very sincere pleasure that we welcome the Cambrian Archæological Association to this

island, which, I trust, may be found rich in those objects of interest that this Society has been the means of bringing to light in other parts of the United Kingdom. I will not touch upon the subjects and places of interest named in the programme to be visited during the week, as I believe there are gentlemen present who will enter more fully into detail respecting them. It will, doubtless, be a matter of surprise to some of the members of the Society, that, considering the two ancient seats of learning, Peel Cathedral and Rushen Abbey, that existed formerly in this island (flourishing in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), we should have no remains of literature, in the shape of MSS., preserved and handed down to the present time; for it may be supposed that Peel Cathedral, where the sons of some of the principal nobility of Scotland, as well, as we are told by tradition, as the sons of some of the Scottish kings, were sent up for their education, at one time contained within its walls much that was valuable, and would have thrown light, not only on the history of the island, but also have afforded valuable information respecting the histories of Norway, Scotland, and Ireland; for it appears that those countries were in intimate and constant communication with the Isle of Man,—not always to the advantage of the island, for it seems to have been made only too frequently the battle-field of opposing factions. This may be one reason why we have now no remains of ancient literature. I believe that there is also a tradition that MSS. which did exist in this island were taken to Norway, and that the building in which they were placed being destroyed by fire, they perished with it. Although this island may not possess a consecutive history, there is sufficient to shew that it played a far more important part in the history of the neighbouring countries than for its size might have been anticipated. We find some of its earlier kings were also kings of the isles. Sometimes in alliance with Norway, sometimes with Scotland, and sometimes singly, it fitted out large expeditions, and waged war upon the neighbouring countries. We find one king making a descent upon Dublin, capturing that city, and devastating a large tract of country around it; and again, that another king captured Anglesey. But these are traditionary stories; and I think it may be fairly said this island possesses only a fragmentary history. It appears true, therefore, that more than usual interest attaches to everything that can throw light upon the earlier period of its existence. The ancient legends of the people, handed down from generation to generation, the tumuli, the Runic inscriptions, may by study and attention be all taught to speak to us of the past. Let us consider the materials this island possesses, in the shape of historical monuments, that can convey to us a knowledge of those early times. Amongst the most important of these are the Runic inscriptions. Possibly, had the literature which we may reasonably suppose at one time existed in Rushen Abbey and Peel Cathedral, been preserved and handed down to us, this island might have rivalled Iceland in the development of its historical compositions. The historians of

Norway and of Denmark are greatly indebted to the Icelanders for a knowledge of the history of their countries. Let us trace how this came about, and see if we can derive any lesson from it. Amongst the earliest settlers in Iceland there was a strong propensity to listen to tales and narratives of travel. They carried with them stories of ancient events of the north, handed down from father to son. These were at first in verse, but gradually passed into prose narrative. These recited the deeds of their kings, their chieftains, and the people. The Icelfander was in constant communication with Norway. He extended his travels into Sweden, Denmark, and England. When he returned to his own country, he related to his family and friends an account of the countries he had visited; described the habits of the people, their religion, their laws, and their government. As these narratives grew in importance, they were related at public assemblies; and at the great assembly of the Althing were related old poems and traditions as well as the occurrences and events that were then passing in the world. These historical materials gradually were collected and accumulated, and came into the possession of some of the principal families. To preserve these, and as an aid to memory, the contents of the old poems and legends were inscribed in runic characters on tablets of wood. Now, throughout this island there are many Runic inscriptions: many have been discovered; many, I believe, remain still to be discovered. Cannot there be found amongst them some of the old poetry, some of the old traditions, some of the old history of the island? But apart from this written history, what other materials does this island offer? There are ancient monuments and remains which, although they may not enable the historian to write a consecutive narrative of events, may yet serve to impart to the mind of the inquirer a clearer perception respecting the religion, the peculiarities, and the civilisation of our forefathers than could be obtained from any written MS. that cannot claim a like antiquity. It has been well said by an able writer on this subject, that "these mute memorials have a high significance for us. They lead us back to the original population of our northern country. They make us live again our fathers' life." And the same writer further justly remarks "that the remains of the past require the attention bestowed on them, by assisting other pursuits than the strictly historical. They assist to answer questions as to the natural history of our northern countries, their people, changes of climate, and the like." I will for a moment now turn from the ancient to the modern history of this island; and I think the modern history will well repay the attention of the inquirer. He will find here a distinct government, distinct laws, and a distinct constitution, founded upon the most ancient constitution of Europe; one which I trust, for the happiness of the people, will long survive, subject to such modifications and alterations as the requirements of the time may from time to time demand."

On the conclusion of this address, the President called on Mr. BARNWELL, one of the General Secretaries, to read the Report.

THE REPORT OF THE CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
FOR 1864-5.

Your Committee congratulate the Members of the Association on holding its present—being its nineteenth annual—meeting in the Isle of Man, where are found such numerous traces of the various waves of population which have swept at different periods over its surface. The island is well known to be rich in remains of the earliest characters usually known as Celtic; but it is still more rich in its Runic and other crosses of a later period, and which have been carefully examined and illustrated in a well-known work. In the possession of those crosses this island exhibits a marked difference from Wales, where they do not exist, while, on the other hand, the Principality can boast of its Oghamic, and especially of its bilingual inscriptions. Your Committee believe that, in spite of the connection that has existed between Man and Ireland, no Oghamic inscriptions are to be found in the former.

Another object to which your Committee would direct the attention of the Members is the existence of those very early Christian inscriptions, so numerous in the Principality, and which point out to the existence of a Christian church long prior to the arrival of Augustine on the shores of Kent.

As regards the earliest and other monuments of the island, the members will have an opportunity on the present occasion to compare Welsh and Manx examples, and it is hoped that the comparison will be attended with no less success and advantage than on a former occasion—in 1862—when the members had the opportunity of comparing the early remains in Cornwall with those in the Principality.

Your Committee would remind the members that this facility of comparison of the monuments of different districts is one of the peculiar advantages of meetings like the present, for although these remains are essentially of the same class and general character, yet frequently local differences and variations will be found worthy of careful attention.

Thus, the French Government has lately deputed M. Bial, a distinguished archaeologist, especially as regards Celtic antiquities, to visit and report on the more remarkable examples of that period to be found in these islands. M. Bial would have gladly availed himself of the present opportunity of inspecting those in this island, and of assisting at the present meeting; but unfortunately the limited space of time allowed him has prevented him carrying out his wishes. The interest, however, shown by the French Government in this matter is gratifying to all who value the possession of these relics of the earliest known race of men who have occupied these islands.

M. Bial is also engaged in bringing out an important work on Celtic civilisation, richly illustrated from photographs of the most

remarkable works of art of that epoch. The work will consist of six large quarto volumes, accompanied with a folio one of illustrations, and will be issued in half-yearly parts. The annual subscription is one guinea, and the work will be completed in six years, commencing from December next. Members wishing to subscribe may send their names to the Secretaries of the Association.

Since the last annual meeting the Editorial Committee have been enabled to continue their pre-existing arrangements, which, at the time of the meeting, were obliged to be suspended, by the serious illness of one of its members; and your Committee congratulate the meeting that there is every reason to hope that the present system will be still continued undisturbed.

On the same occasion, it was announced that no gentleman had been found to succeed W. Banks, Esq., of Brecon, as one of the General Secretaries. This difficulty has since been removed by the acceptance of the office by Rees Goring Thomas, Esq., previously one of the Local Secretaries for Caermarthenshire.

Your Committee, with much regret, direct the attention of the members to the continued unpunctuality in the payment of the annual subscriptions, and which has now reached such an extent that the very existence of the Association must be endangered if the practice is still persisted in. Nor can this very unsatisfactory state of things be attributed to neglect of duty on the part of those whose duty it is to superintend these details, as in many cases members have received several notices of arrears without the smallest practical effect. Contrasted with such irregularity, is the unvarying punctuality with which the quarterly number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* is issued to the members, who seem to think that the heavy expenditure of the Association can be carried on without the payment of subscriptions. The result of this neglect has been that only the small amount of £17:7:1 exists at present in the Treasurer's hands, instead of nearly one hundred pounds, as would have been the case but for the conduct of individual members.

Your Committee, in thus dwelling on this unsatisfactory state of things, would remind the meeting that at the close of the present year the Association will have practically completed its twentieth year of existence, as the first volume of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* was issued in 1846. It may be thought by some that during that interval the work of the Society should have been nearly completed; but so far from this being the case, the greater part still remains to be done; whether it is to be done must depend upon the intelligence and activity of the gentry and clergy of the Principality.

The members are generally aware that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales has been pleased to enrol himself among the members of the Association, thus following the example of his lamented father, the Prince Consort, who was one of the earliest and warmest friends of the Association. Her Majesty, also, has ordered that the Journal be regularly supplied to the Royal Library at Buckingham Palace.

Your Committee have also the pleasure of announcing the ac-

cession to its members by one of the most distinguished Celtic scholars of the day, H.I.H. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte.

Your Committee also recommend a vote of cordial thanks to the late President, J. H. Scourfield, Esq., M.P., for his efficient services during the past year, and that his name be placed on the list of Vice-Presidents. They recommend, also, that M. Paul Bial be elected one of the honorary members,—who, by the rules of the Association, must be distinguished foreigners.

They recommend, also, that the Rev. J. Tombs be elected Local Secretary for Pembrokeshire, in the room of the Rev. H. J. Vincent, deceased. That the Rev. Robert Williams be a Local Secretary for Montgomeryshire, and F. Lloyd Phillips, Esq., a Local Secretary for Caermarthenshire.

The Local Secretaryship of Radnorshire is vacant by the decease of John Jones, Esq., of Cefn Faes.

The following members have joined the Association since the issue of last report, and await the usual confirmation of members:—The Lady Frances Harcourt, Herefordshire; the Ven. Archdeacon Clark, Pembrokeshire; Edward Fisher, Esq., Leicestershire; F. Green, Esq., Caermarthenshire; Mr. John James, Pembrokeshire; Morris C. Jones, Esq., Montgomeryshire; George le Hunt, Esq., Wexford, Ireland; E. W. Robertson, Esq., Leicestershire; J. R. Robinson, Esq., Yorkshire.

Professor BABINGTON, in moving the adoption and printing of the Report in the Proceedings of the Society, congratulated the Association on the active support and assistance they had received from the gentlemen of the island, and the manner in which the members had been received by so numerous a meeting. He was glad to hear that the Secretaries had been enabled to present a report so satisfactory in all respects, except that of the irregularity with which so many members still continued to pay their subscriptions, in spite of the exertions of the Secretaries. The evil continued to increase so that the very existence of the Association was questionable, unless this reprehensible unpunctuality was discontinued.

Mr. ADAMSON, Her Majesty's Seneschal, at the request of the President, delivered an address on the principal antiquities of the island, more particularly referring to the ancient ecclesiastical and civil divisions of the islands into treens and quarterlands, being divisions and subdivisions of parishes, a treen consisting of quarterlands, each quarterland being supposed to have had a treen chapel. As to the treen chapels, about which so many opinions prevailed, Mr. Adamson was inclined to identify them with the small primitive ecclesiastical edifices of Ireland described in Petrie's work, and to assign them to the same age and purpose. The speaker next alluded to the curious collection of stones near Braddan Church, a plan of which (not a complete one) he had caused to be made by a competent surveyor for the use of the meeting.

Mr. BARNWELL stated that he, in company with Mr. Babington,

had that day visited the stones in question, and which are called, in Mr. Cumming's excellent guide to the Isle of Man, the remains of a temple, but which rather appeared to have formed part of a primitive town, once probably surrounded by defences which had long since been removed. Whatever this assemblage of stones was, it was undoubtedly extremely curious, and if not safe from further demolition, should at once be more extensively surveyed and mapped.

Professor BABINGTON supported Mr. Barnwell's view of the subject, noticing also some of the more remarkable features of the group, particularly the remains of the doorway leading into a rectangular apartment or dwelling-house.

Archdeacon MOORE concluded the conversation with some remarks, nearly of the same purport as the foregoing.

In allusion to the question of the age of treen chapels, Mr. Cumming drew the attention of the meeting to the fact that amid the ruins of one of them a Runic cross had been found, and which Mr. Cumming was understood to say had been built up in the wall of the chapel, so that this particular chapel, at least, was later than the cross.

Mr. Cumming concluded the proceedings of the meeting by a long and elaborate paper on the various ornamentation of the Manx Runic crosses, illustrated by a large number of rubbings and drawings, suspended against the walls of the room. This will appear in the Journal.

The meeting then broke up.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 22.

A numerous assemblage of excursionists started under the guidance of Dr. Oliver, making their first halt at the ruins of the nunnery. These ruins are of little extent, and less interest, except as regards their connexion with a religious house, the foundation of which is assigned to St. Bridget or St. Bride, an Irish missionary, to whom so many churches in Wales are dedicated. The ruins themselves consist simply of a plain gateway, which has undergone later alterations, and a small blocked up perpendicular window in the gable end of a building, the use and purpose of which is unknown. Some later square headed windows, without the slightest architectural ornament, remain on one side of the yard, more of domestic than ecclesiastical character. A bell, not so old as the ruins themselves, remains on the top of the arch, and did not appear worth examination. It was said to have been a common modern bell for domestic use. St. Bridget's well was not examined. Near Middle Hill, on the left hand, two artificial mounds were pointed out, said to have been used, if not formed, for the settling of disputes by an ordeal of arms, which must have been, in this case,

bows and arrows. The next stoppage took place at the remains of an ancient cemetery on Mount Murray estate, of which the faintest indications exist. To have ascertained the character of the graves, excavations would have been necessary, which time did not admit, but which are probably connected with the green chapel once existing near it, the site of which is marked by a modern upright stone.

Rushen Abbey next attracted the attention of the excursionists. The work, however, of demolition has been so extensive that, coupled with the rude masonry of the existing remains, no indications exist which would enable its date to be fixed with any degree of accuracy. In the tower, however, on the right, which apparently formed part of the church, a plain semicircular arch confirms the statement of the chronicles of Rushen that in 1192 the monks removed to the nunnery near Douglas while their abbey was being enlarged, or perhaps rebuilt; at least no traces of any building anterior to the end of the twelfth century are above ground. Nor can the original arrangement of the buildings be made out, so effectual has been the destruction, unless the foundations of the destroyed portions were uncovered. Mr. Cumming has given, in his account of the abbey, views of 1600 and 1800; but these render little or no assistance. The square tower, however, alluded to formed a portion of the church. The large rectangular building, one side of which has been partly rebuilt, is also of uncertain use. It was conjectured by some present to have been intended for the occupation of the lay members or servants, or the hospitium for strangers. It could hardly have been the refectory. One or two of the original square-headed windows remain, but without any details of moulding or ornament, while the masonry is so extremely rude, principally owing to the nature of the material, that it is almost impossible to form even a conjecture as to its age. Mr. Cumming assigns the buildings in general to the thirteenth century. Another tower remains, which seems to have been of defensive character, and to have formed part of the exterior wall, remains of which still exist. In two sides of the tower are some rude corbellings to support a projection which may have served as a latrina. A drawing of it was taken, and will appear in the Journal. There remains also a portion of a rude barrel-vault, which has been the substructure of some building. In the centre of the vault there appears to have been fixed an iron, which suspended probably a lamp. Interments have been said to have been discovered in the ground beneath the vault, so that the lamp may have been connected with the graves. The not unusual tradition of a subterranean passage of inconvenient length exists here also, and some stones imbedded in the ground under the vault are believed to conceal the entrance of it, which led to Rushen Castle; but even if practical, why the Cistercian monks wished for such a communication with their more warlike neighbours it is difficult to say. The tradition is evidently one of the usual character.

In the garden is a coffin-lid of the fourteenth century, of some

military person, not a Templar, as sometimes stated. It has been already given in Mr. Cumming's valuable work of the Manx Runic crosses, and reproduced in his history of Rushen Castle and Abbey. It presents some uncommon variations from the ordinary type of the cross composed simply of four circles, viz., the inner square connecting the centres of the circles, and the little diamond ornament in the exterior angles. Some time and labour were uselessly spent in digging up a coffin near the tower first mentioned, which was said to have been covered by a common slate stone, without any sculpture or inscription. It was from this part of the ground that the encaustic tiles preserved in the Mansion House were taken. These tiles were of rude execution, and not older than the fourteenth century, were more probably a century later.

Between these ruins and those of the Abbey mill is the very curious bridge known by the name of Crossag, almost in its original state. The only alteration seems to have been the substitution of a large circular arch on one face of the bridge for the original pointed one. A drawing was made by Mr. Blight from the other side, and will be given in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. It may be safely attributed to the thirteenth century, although the small side arch appears to be of the Carnarvon type usually assigned to the commencement of the following century. In the present case, however, the builder seems to have adopted independently this form, from the nature of the material employed.

The carriages next proceeded towards Castletown, halting at Ronaldsway, once the scene of bloody battles, and perhaps retaining traces of them in some small mounds observed at a distance, of which time did not admit a closer inspection. Beyond lies the ruin of St. Michael's Chapel, assigned to the thirteenth century by the author of *Ecclesiastical Notes on the Isle of Man*, etc. Hango Hill, a small artificial mound with the scanty remains of a block-house of no antiquity, is interesting from its associations with the death of William Christian. The mound itself is of a much earlier character, and may have been the work of some sea-rover as a temporary refuge.

In King William's College the casts of the Manx crosses, procured at a very considerable expense by Mr. Cumming, and presented by that gentleman to the College, were inspected. These are now crowded in an obscure closet, instead of being placed in some more conspicuous situation where they would be protected from damage. A Scandinavian cross, once lying neglected in the churchyard of Malew, is among them; but should be restored to its proper place, where it would probably be taken better care of than when it was rescued by Mr. Cumming.

The inspection of Rushen Castle concluded the first portion of the day's work. This fine building originally consisted of a late square keep, to the sides of which were subsequently affixed square towers, and outer works: all which are accurately described in Mr. Cumming's work on the Castle and Abbey. Some mutilated windows,

with tracery of the fourteenth century, are the earliest certain indications of its date. There is also a picturesque Oriel window in the chapel. The real date of the original square keep, as well as of its additions, has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained. Godred, king of Man, may have built a castle on the same spot; but certainly no portion of the present structure. The characters of 947, found on a beam in 1815, if not some bungled inscription, must have been a comparatively modern record of the popular belief of the time, and which belief is said still to exist. The inscription and beam having both been destroyed, and no rubbing having been taken of the former, no means of arriving at its real age remain. No part of the Castle appears to be older than the thirteenth century, and is more probably to be referred to the fourteenth. The constant repetition of the square-headed trefoil doorway is remarkable; but the use of it continued, in some districts, to a later period. No portion of the masonry, which throughout is very good, appears to be as old as the twelfth century, although the author of the *Ecclesiological Notes* thinks a large portion may be of that date. Under the entrances of the inner and outer buildings, vaults are said to exist. These were not accessible at the time of the visit, but may throw some light on the question. No latrinæ were observed, but may exist in some of the chambers or interiors of the passages.

When the company had scaled the highest tower, Mr. CUMMING read a detailed account of the siege and capture of the Castle by Robert Bruce, accompanied with an account of the Comyns.

A vote of thanks having been proposed and carried, the members dispersed through the various portions of the building. The Roman altar in the Castle (which is given in Mr. Cumming's larger work) was brought to the island from the Roman station of Ellenborough, above Maryport, in Cumberland. It is noticed in the *Transactions* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (vol. ii, Part ii, p. 499).

Mr. Cunningham, of Lorn House, then hospitably received the members at luncheon, after which the remaining feature of interest in Castletown was visited. This is the Grammar School, a building of humble pretensions, but of considerable interest as containing the oldest structure in the island, namely the remains of St. Mary's Church. These remains consist of a portion of an arcade formed of massive pillars supporting rude, plain, semicircular arches which spring from a massive, plain, chamfered abacus. These arches appear to have had a plain moulding; but the hand of the spoiler has cut it away.

On resuming their carriages, the excursionists proceeded to Malew Church, which, like most of the Manx churches, has been so completely restored as to retain few parts of the original work. The roof, however, is of the thirteenth century. The font and bell-turret are also original. The font is of rude granite, without any ornament or moulding, and of small size, and therefore probably not so early as generally supposed. It has been rescued by the present vicar, the Rev. W. Gill, from having served outside the church as a recept-

acle of rain-water, and placed by that gentleman on a granite pillar. In this church William Christian was interred, and the entry of it on the Register was exhibited to the visitors. The more remarkable curiosities in the church are of very great interest, consisting of a silver paten with the inscription of "Sancte Lupe ora pro nobis" (from whom Malew takes its name); and an article of bronze, usually termed in the guide-books an extinguisher; but which is either the top of a thurible, or, as suggested by the Right Rev. Bishop Goss, the upper portion of a funeral lantern carried before the priest. There is also a brass crucifix of early work,—as early as the twelfth century; and a portion of an ornamented brass staff, which may have belonged to the lantern, or been part of a processional cross, but which did not appear to have been connected with the crucifix. All these relics will be engraved for the Society's Journal. On the summit of the hill, above the church, are two large masses of quartz, which seem to be the last remains of a burial-place.

At the evening meeting, in the absence of the President, who had been forced to leave for England, Mr. J. H. SCOURFIELD took the chair, and called on Mr. BABINGTON to give an account of the day's proceedings, who, in alluding to the ruins of Rushen Abbey, expressed his opinion that the architecture was so extremely rude that he doubted if any one could fix its proper date. As to the Castle, as far as he saw, he could find nothing which shewed it was older than the first Edward. No doubt an earlier castle existed. Mr. Cumming had given them an account of it being taken by Robert Bruce in 1313. It was not unlikely to have been then destroyed, or at least dismantled, and subsequently so thoroughly repaired as to hide all traces of the original work.

Mr. CUMMING remarked that, as to the question of the date of Rushen Abbey, he thought some clue might be obtained from the fact that, at the end of the twelfth century, the monks removed to Douglas while the Abbey was being enlarged. As to the size of the building some information might possibly be found from the records of Henry VIII, enumerating the quantities of lead, wood, etc.

Mr. MOGGERIDGE alluded to the blocks of quartz on the hill above Malew Church, which he believed to have been portions of a kistvaen; and thought that if excavations were made, they would find indications of interment which would shew how far his conjectures were right.

Mr. BARNWELL, at the request of the PRESIDENT, gave a short sketch of the late discoveries in Brittany of sculptured stones, which had hitherto remained unnoticed by the Breton antiquaries until their attention was directed to them by Mr. Samuel Ferguson of Dublin, who had given an account of them in the *Transactions* of the Royal Irish Academy. These figures were different from the well-known sculptured stones of Gavryns; not so ornamented, but apparently more of a symbolic character. The more remarkable feature in those made known by Mr. Ferguson was the constant repetition of celts fixed in handles: sometimes enclosed in cartouches or frames,

as if, under such circumstances, they were to be differently read than when not so enclosed; in a manner not very unlike the hieroglyphics of the Rosetta stone, which, when enclosed, were found to represent letters, not words, and to indicate the names of individuals. Another remarkable feature was the figure, which Mr. Ferguson compared to a shield adorned with fringes, as on the stone found in the Isle de Moines, not far from Locmariaker, where these stones exist. The shield (if such it is) would, according to Mr. Ferguson, denote the burial-place of a military chief. Mr. Barnwell pointed out the figures on the under side of the covering stone of the great cromlech at Locmariaker, called sometimes "The Merchant's Table." These figures appear, one, to denote a boar, a well-known emblem so common on a large number of Gaulish coins; and the other, a large-handled celt, with a kind of fringe or ornament attached to it. With reference to this last he offered a suggestion. In the southern part of France a large number of Gallo-Roman funereal inscriptions exist, with the words "*sub ascia*," or under the axe,—an inscription which has long perplexed the antiquarian world as to its import. The figure of the *ascia* is almost invariably added, and resembles a small adze set at an acute angle to its handle. No better explanation has been given of this "*sub ascia*," than that the survivors of the deceased denoted that they kept the grave clear from weeds, etc. Now it is remarkable that the form is found only in Gaulish districts, and is unknown on the other side of the Alps. Taking into consideration, therefore, the pertinacity of the Celt in retaining his traditions, even amid Roman civilisation, it seems probable that this *ascia* is connected in some way with the celt figured on the covering stone of the cromlech, and that the Gallo-Roman still retained the tradition by continuing on his Christian memorials to inscribe "*sub ascia*." If the celt and the *ascia* are the same, the person interred in the cromlech above mentioned was certainly buried "*sub ascia*."

Professor SIMPSON followed with an interesting notice of the curious figures of cups, circles, etc., found on the earliest pillar-stones, rocks, cromlechs, etc., which seem not to have attracted the attention of the antiquarian world. The simplest form was a mere cup hollowed in the stone; the next, a plain circle with a disk or centre; a third variety was that of two or more concentric circles, and a central disk with a straight line from the centre, cutting through and extending beyond the circles. Sometimes this line ran right across the whole circle, extending also beyond it. For want of a better name, these and similar remains were generally distinguished as Celtic; but might they not have been the work of a far earlier race? And if so, how much earlier? These curious markings were not, moreover, confined to any particular district, but could be traced from the extreme south to the most northern part of these islands. If the figures that Mr. Barnwell had just mentioned were symbols or characters of certain meaning, so also probably were these of which he was speaking. They were evidently not mere ornaments, and

those who cut them must have had some object in doing so. The day might come when these marks might be decyphered, not less satisfactorily than the hieroglyphics of Egypt or the arrow-headed records of Assyria.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 23.

The first object visited in this day's excursion was a number of huge masses of quartz and other rocks scattered over a field at Ballamona. Many more once existed, but have been broken up. The remaining ones are more or less isolated, and some doubt may exist whether they have been placed in their present positions by man or natural causes. Under one of these, on excavation, was found a small fragment of charcoal. This particular mass rested partly on a small stone; but of such minute dimensions that it could hardly have been placed there as a supporter, and may have been the result of accident. The fact, however, on the other hand, that numerous small cists have been, and are still being, discovered on the same spot, prove that there has been here an extensive cemetery; but of what date is uncertain, as the descriptions obtained of the cists found and broken up were not very definite. They appear to have been similar to those visited on the following day at Cronk-ny-Keillane. It is remarkable, however, that on this same spot once existed a Treen chapel; the exact site of which, however, is not certain. There was probably some connexion between the chapel and these cists.

On quitting Ballamona the excursionists proceeded on their route to Seafeld, stopping to examine the Oatland stone circle, one of the most perfect and interesting in the island. A more particular account of it will be given in the Journal, with illustrations. It will, therefore, be only necessary to state that on one of the stones were found several rows of those curious cups which formed one of the subjects of Professor Simpson's address on the previous evening. In the island are examples of earlier and later stone graves. This of Oatlands must be placed among the former.

At Seafeld the visitors were most hospitably received by Major Bacon and his daughters, and were shewn some curious relics; among them a glass connected with a family tradition, the age of which seemed a matter of doubt. After partaking of their host's hospitality, the party went through the grounds to the lovely little bay of Greenwich. Here a large mound known as Cronk-ny-Marroo (hill of the dead) was being dug through by some labourers, but without producing any result,—at least as long as the members remained there. In spite, however, of the name of the tumulus, it appears to have been simply the defence, on the land side, of a small camp of the kind frequently called Danish. In the interior of this camp were the foundations of chambers or other buildings. It was on the Seafeld estate that the stone basin or camp, as it is some-

times called, exhibited in the Temporary Museum, was found in a bank about thirteen years ago. Similar ones may be seen in the Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh. These rude utensils probably served various purposes.

Two circles near Arrogan Bay, in Santon parish, were next examined. One of them presented a peculiarity in having the inner circle of stones elevated half way up the mound, the lower part of which had been surrounded by another circle. This peculiarity was not noticed in the other circle, and denotes its Scandinavian character. With the one first visited, namely that with the elevated stones, was connected an ancient superstition, the peasants formerly bringing their children to be baptised outside the circle.

In the churchyard of Santon was noticed the great stone described in the various guide-books. There is a rude granite font of the same uncertain age as the one at Malew Church. The inscribed stone noticed in the *Transactions* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, on the premises of the vicar, was not seen. Santon Church contains nothing worth notice, save a few entries in the Register, kindly pointed out by the vicar.

The excursionists remounted their carriages, making a short halt at Bechmaken Priory, founded by the Grey Friars in 1373. The only remaining portion (now a barn, and formerly the church) contains a few details of fifteenth century work, of little interest. Soon after which the hospitable mansion of Mr. Gawne was reached, where the beauty of the gardens and the excellent repast were duly appreciated. Time, however, not admitting of much delay, the carriages proceeded to Fairy Hill, an imposing tumulus, evidently of defensive character, although some present conjectured that, from the sinking of the ground on the summit, it may have contained a large chamber, the falling in of which has led to the depression above. It appears, however, to have been simply a defensive work; and in addition to its being protected by the swamp (now good grass land), had been strengthened by a strong earthen vallum, a part of which alone remains, the remainder having been removed within the memory of the present generation for agricultural purposes.

Port Erin, a very picturesque spot, was at last reached; and while the horses were resting, some of the company mounted the hill between Port Erin and St. Mary, where was found a very perfect circle of graves surrounded with a low bank of small stones, now covered with heath. With the exception of their lids, the cists were perfect. Such an assemblage of graves is very unusual. The group has been drawn and surveyed for the *Journal*, where a further notice will appear of them. The giants' quoiting stones, owing to the lateness of the hour, were not seen. They are probably only the remains of a circle.

There was no meeting in the evening.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 24.

This day's excursion was devoted to Peel Castle, commencing with Braddan Church. The church is modern, and of very little merit; but the campanile may possibly be original. The Runic and other crosses of a still earlier date have been so well given in Mr. Cumming's work that any notice of them here is superfluous; but on the other side of the lane, behind the church, is a collection of stones which have not apparently attracted the attention they deserve. In spite of the spoilers, one of whom has appropriated some of the stones to his pigsty, enough remains to shew that here was a very early settlement of a Celtic, if not an earlier race. It had been surrounded, in all probability, by a wall of large rough stones, and divided internally into various chambers and dwelling-houses, the divisions of which must have consisted of large slabs, perhaps supplemented by smaller ones long since removed. The doorway of a rectangular chamber still remains. Some of the stones bear curious marks, which require more accurate examination. Mr. Adamson has promised to have a plan of the whole made, with each stone laid down in its place. Something similar exists at Llugwy in the north of Anglesey, which has hitherto not attracted much attention; but which Lord Boston, on whose land it stands, will probably take steps to have cleared from the underwood with which it is at present choked up. A comparison of these two similar monuments will probably throw light upon both.

Mount Murray Circles, next visited, are a group of three or four; but so buried in heath as to make the tracing them out difficult. On one of the upright stones were marks which may be artificial, but are probably natural. The interiors of these circles have been apparently cleared away, leaving only the surrounding stones which encircled, but formed no part of, the actual grave.

Two Treen chapels, namely those of Ballinghan and Ballaquinnery, were next examined. The interior of the former of these is so choked up with briars and weeds that some difficulty was encountered in ascertaining the outline of the building; so that it was not certain whether it was of a plain rectangular form, or had recesses.¹ The masonry was of very rude character, without any traces of mortar. The jambs of the entrances were in their places, being merely two untooled stones. Within is a curious, shallow stone vessel, said to have been within a late period used by the peasants to baptise their children. It is, however, almost too shallow to have even served as a stoup or vessel for holy water. The question was asked on the spot, What was the earliest known benitier or stoup, or even record of them in the early church? And whether they are found in the Irish churches of the earliest date? No satisfactory information was obtained. The other Treen chapel was somewhat larger, and presented more

¹ Since the meeting, Dr. Oliver has discovered that the recess is a small apse.

regular masonry than that of Ballinghan. It was said that there had been originally an entrance at each angle of the square enclosure which surrounded this chapel; but on examination this did not appear to have been the case, although it is clear that more than one had existed, the jambs having only been lately removed. These square enclosures may have served as small defensive ones, as they have been strongly built, and must have been much higher than they are at present. At what period, or for what purpose, these curious chapels were erected is still a *vezata questio*, which it is hoped that the Manx antiquaries will be enabled to clear up.

Before reaching Tynwald Mount, the ruins of St. Trinian's were visited. St. Trinian is a Manx corruption of St. Ringan, as the Scotch call St. Ninian; and the barony of St. Trinian in Man belonged to the priory of St. Ninian at Whithorne in Galloway. To the practised eye the ruins present the remains of a church of the fourteenth century, and to this date the author of the *Ecclesiological Notes* assigns them. Mr. Cumming thinks that they may be of the latter part of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, while some of the members of the Association assigned them to the fourteenth. It was, however, stated by Dr. Oliver, from private sources, that the building was commenced in 1600, and continued through fifteen years, but at intervals, until it was finally given up from want of funds, and left nearly in the same state as it is at present. The great-grandfather of a gentleman who died in 1857 is said to have seen it while building. It is considered by some to have been intended for a Treen chapel on a grand scale. If this fact could be substantiated, it would help to throw some light on the history of these little chapels. There is a series of square holes which pierce completely through the walls all round the building. They could not have been intended to hold the beams of the scaffolding for more than one reason. Perhaps they were intended for the insertion of *bwhid-suggane*, or rope-stones, by which the Manx tie down the roofs of their buildings owing to the violent winds. Similar apertures exist, or did exist, in Maughold Church.

Whether the celebrated Tynwald Hill was built for the purpose for which it is now used, or whether it is anterior to its adoption as the place of the annual ceremonial, is a point that appears to be undetermined by local authorities. The story of its having been built of earth brought from each parish in the island savours more of poetic fiction than historic truth. The additional labour and expense would in such a case have been enormous. If, however, there is any foundation for the tradition, the object of the builders might have been satisfied by each parish contributing a small modicum of its soil to the great bulk of the work, so as to be in some degree connected with the common centre of action. The level plain from which it rises has been the scene of more than one battle. A large mound may, therefore, have covered the bodies of the slain; and subsequently, from its more central position, have been adopted as the scene of the annual promulgation of the laws. It has in late times been disfigured by being cut into terraces.

When the present church was built, a Runic cross was found in the walls of the preexisting one, an humble edifice of little beauty. The correct reading of the Runes, which are much weather-worn, is not quite agreed on by the learned.

Not far from the Mount a kistvaen has been laid bare by cutting through the road. The slabs which compose the structure are of small proportions, about four feet square; and the floor of it, according to Mr. Cumming, is paved with small pebbles. About fifty yards to the west of this tumulus a second was discovered, at the same time, of even smaller dimensions, in which were found a battle-axe, stirrup, and a handful of beads, with a lump of rock-crystal. The beads and rock-crystal are deposited in the Museum of Practical Geology, Jermyn-street, London.

After traversing a very hilly road the excursionists stopped to inspect a group of stones on the rising ground a little to the right of Poor Town. Mr. Harrison of Rockmount has promised to have the ground carefully examined under his own inspection. This group consists of a small gallery of upright stones, which led to a chamber now destroyed. The ground has probably been raised in course of time, as at present the gallery would not have admitted an erect man. Some of the stones have been removed, a few of which could be replaced, as they are at no great distance. The other missing ones have probably been broken up.

Cronk ny Keeill Llane, the next object of attraction, is a vast tumulus of fine sand and earth at Ballalough, which has been intersected by the road, thus having its interior exposed. This mound appears to contain several layers of graves formed of thin slabs of slate. It was probably a burial-place of some importance, and, from the position of the graves, of Christian character. A Treen chapel is said once to have surmounted it, and must therefore have been posterior to it. Mr. Moore had caused some of the kistvaens to be laid open, which were found to contain bones of both sexes, and various ages. In none of them have been found implements or ornaments. The bones lay nearly east and west, so that it is not improbable that the present instance is one of a very early Christian cemetery.¹

Peel Castle and churches concluded the day's work.

An excellent account of the cathedral and churches, by the Rev. J. L. Petit, will be found in the *Archæological Journal*. No portion of the cathedral is earlier than the thirteenth century. The central tower and nave belong to the fourteenth. The most interesting feature, however, is the crypt with its very curious ribbed roof, the ribs being placed unusually near each other. In spite, however, of the strength of the building, it is in danger of falling unless effective steps are taken to secure it. On the exterior of the south wall of the nave is inserted a Runic inscription, not perfect. The round tower is a conspicuous object. Whether it is to be referred to the

¹ The mound was opened in 1860 by Drs. Oswald and Oliver and Mr. Harrison, an account of which opening, as well as of the mound, is given in the Appendix of Oswald's *Vestigia*.

class of the Irish towers, or is a mediæval watch-tower, is one of the questions not yet decided.

Mr. BRASH being requested to express his opinion as to the nature of the so-called round tower, first explained the principal features by which the Irish round towers were distinguished, without a knowledge of which the question of the Peel tower could not be satisfactorily discussed. In the first place, the Irish towers varied from 70 to 130 feet in height, although some, from the ruin of the upper parts, may be less at the present time. In the second place, the circumference of the base varied from 45 to 60 feet. The towers themselves taper gradually from the bottom to the top, so as to present an appearance of remarkable beauty and symmetry. The walls also, which are from 3 to 5 feet thick at the base, diminish as they ascend. The single entrance is always above the ground. There are cases of its being 20 feet above. The apertures in the wall vary in number, and are usually small. The four upper ones are larger, and face the four cardinal points. The covering was a conical roof of stone. The diameter internally, at the door-sill, varies from 7 to 9 ft., and diminishes in proportion (upwards) to the external batter. Mr. Brash then pointed out how the Peel tower wanted these peculiarities. In the first place, it was not more than 48 feet high, while its circumference is 45 feet,—a proportion never known to exist in the Irish towers. Secondly, the tower is a cylinder, of the same diameter from top to bottom; which fact alone appeared to exclude it from the Irish type. Thirdly, the Peel tower terminated with a mediæval parapet, said indeed to be of later work, but the truth of which statement was not confirmed by any change in the masonry, as far as a practical and impartial eye could detect. The masonry of the upper and lower parts was of the same kind and the same material, and exhibited the same marks of disintegration and of weather-wear; so that in his opinion there was no ground for supposing the parapet to be a later addition. The only points of similarity in the Peel and Irish towers were the doorway and upper windows. These last were placed about 5 feet below the parapet, and were such as are common and natural in all watch-towers, which this tower probably was. The door is elevated about 7 feet above the ground; but the same thing occurs in the tower of Brunlys Castle, in Brecknockshire. It is remarkable however, that, like the Irish examples, it has converging sides. From the want of mouldings and other architectural features, no date could be assigned. It was apparently of early work, and being situated on the highest point in the island, may have been erected by the ecclesiastics or others of the island as a signal or lighthouse to sailors.

Some present, however, thought that the upper portion of the tower was not of the same kind of masonry, and that the structure was connected with the ancient church of St. Patrick, and a veritable round tower of Irish character. Mr. Petit and Mr. Neale thought the same; so that the question may still be considered undecided. According to Paterson's *Manx Antiquities*, a drawing of the sixteenth

century gives a conical roof, which must not be confounded with the ordinary roof of the same form which surmounted the round towers of Ireland. The roof must have been of the ordinary mediæval extinguisher-shape, formed of timber covered with lead or slates, and which was in common use until the introduction of artillery.

The extreme rudeness of the masonry of St. Patrick's Church, and the absence of all architectural details, make it not only difficult to offer any conjecture as to its age, but seem to have induced the author of the *Ecclesiological Notes* to question whether it ever was a church at all. The majority, however, of antiquaries will not share Mr. Neale's doubts, and will pronounce for the ecclesiastical character of the building. In one respect it indicates its Irish origin, which, if proved, would support the Irish character of the tower. The east end has been separated by a solid wall (not a common screen) from the rest of the church, giving communication between the two parts by a small door at the side or sides. There are various other ruins within the circuit of the walls, but which have been well laid down in a map of Peel Island, distributed among the members of the Association present by Mr. Moore, the High Bailiff.

There is, however, one remarkable feature within the ruins, which has furnished grounds for speculations as to its real character. This is the square, raised mound of earth now surmounted with a modern monticule, adorned with a flagstaff. It is unnecessary to give the various theories broached on the question; which, however, does not appear to be a very difficult one. The late Dr. Oswald's conclusion is doubtless the correct one, namely, that it is the original earthwork thrown up to defend the place before the stone walls protected it. The first invaders by sea would naturally secure so strong a post, and fortify it after their own fashion. The earthwork itself has, no doubt, undergone many alterations by successive occupiers; so that it may have been, and probably was, originally built by the early Scoto-Irish, and subsequently altered by the Norsemen, and by their successors in turn. Dr. Robert Paterson, in his *Manx Antiquities*, seems to find a difficulty in such a view, from the fact that it has also at one time been used as a burial-ground. It would certainly be useful as such, and was no doubt found so by the occupiers of the Castle or Peel Island from time to time. The proximity of the cathedral and St. Patrick's would even render it a popular cemetery among others. But its later use as a burial-ground is no argument against its having been the work of the Scoto-Irish, or later invaders. The little central flagstaff mound is evidently a modern addition, and somewhat interferes with the original character of the work.

The members, on leaving this picturesque spot, were most hospitably entertained at the principal hotel by Mr. Moore, after which the carriages were remounted, and they returned to Douglas.

The evening meeting, over which the ex-President, Mr. SCOURFIELD, presided, was opened by Professor BABINGTON's account of the excursions of the preceding day, and the visit to Peel.

Dr. CLAY, of Manchester, followed with a very able account of all that is known of the Manx money, illustrating his remarks with the various specimens of successive coinages. The oldest known is the Murray penny, of extreme rarity,—a rude brass token, larger, but somewhat of the style of the ordinary tokens of the seventeenth century. Then followed successive types of the Derby penny and half-penny, some of which were cast. The Athole types succeeded, the series being concluded by the three or four various ones struck since the purchase of the Duke's interest by the English legislature. Of the leather money, Dr. Clay had never seen a specimen, nor any one else, as far as he could make out; and he considered it very questionable whether it had ever existed at all. Attention was also drawn to the curious paper currency, of small amount, once of common use in the island. Within a few years ago small change generally consisted of mere buttons and nondescript pieces of metal.

The lateness of the hour, and the early start on the morrow (rendered necessary by the length of the next day's excursion), prevented the reading of Mr. Brash's paper on Mananan Mac Leir or Lir, the mythic founder of Man, and of one from Mr. Cumming on Runes, both of which will appear in the pages of the Journal.

Votes of thanks were then moved and adopted to P. T. Cunningham, Esq., of Lorn House, a member of the insular legislature; Major Bacon, of Seafield; Edward Moore Gawne, Esq., of Kentraugh, Speaker of the House of Keys; Robert J. Moore, Esq., High Bailiff of Douglas; for their kind and hospitable reception of the members of the Association during the present meeting.

Votes of thanks were also voted to the members of the Local Committee, coupled with the name of Paul Bridson, Esq.; Dr. Oliver; Robert J. Moore, Esq.; and Mr. Kneale; for their most efficient services in so successfully organising the preliminary arrangements.

Similar votes of thanks were also passed to the contributors to the Local Museum.

The gentlemen whose names were coupled with the Local Committee having separately acknowledged the vote of thanks, Mr. W. F. MOORE proposed a vote of thanks to the Cambrian Archæological Association for having selected the Isle of Man as their place of meeting; and while he expressed his pleasure that the members who had attended had been gratified with their visit and reception, he trusted that the occasion of the meeting would stimulate and encourage antiquarian activity among the residents of the island.

The CHAIRMAN expressed his thanks, as well as those of the members present, for the great kindness with which they had been universally received, and for the pleasure they had all enjoyed in being, under such favourable circumstances, introduced to the lovely scenery and interesting remains of antiquity in the Isle of Man.

The announcement of the arrangements for the succeeding day concluded the proceedings.

The members of the General Committee subsequently met for the transaction of the business of the Association.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 26.

On account of the length of this day's excursion, the carriages started at an earlier hour than usual for Kirk Onchan, or, more properly, Kirk Conchan. The church is modern, and of small merit in an architectural sense; but the churchyard contains a Scandinavian cross of fret-work, and two grotesque animals, which are probably ornamental rather than symbolic. Another cross with Runes is near it; while a third, Mr. Cumming tells us, once existed, but of its fate nothing is known. Casts, however, of the inscription have been preserved. In a garden on the other side of the road is a mutilated cross with figures of dogs, and a small slab rudely carved, remarkable for the letters *CRVS : ISVCRIST*. (See Mr. Cumming's *Runic and other Monumental Remains of the Isle of Man*.) The clergyman of the parish, the Rev. John Howard, stated that formerly young lovers touched the large upright stone in the churchyard in pledging their troth to each other. Similar traditions are frequently connected with the earlier class of pillar and other stones; and as there is a fine example of the former class built into the wall of the churchyard, and which is said to have once served as a pillory, it is not impossible that the tradition has been transferred from this pillar-stone to the more ornamented one in the churchyard. Mr. Kneale read the Runic inscriptions to the company. The upper part of the old font had been lately rescued from serving as a pig-trough, and is in the vestry. It is of the same rude character as others already noticed, and of uncertain date.

The Cloven Stones of Laxey, the next object of attraction, are merely the ruins of a chamber, or portion of a gallery, of a sepulchral chamber, and are probably of Scandinavian, and not of the so-called Celtic period. The same may be said of the more important group further on the Ramsey Road, known as Orry's Grave, which is undoubtedly Scandinavian, if the account of the discovery made in one of the chambers is correct. The present remains which exist on each side of the road shew that there has been more than one grave. The group must originally have been very extensive, as the tall, upright stone in the garden of a cottage, is to be connected with the remains on the opposite side of the road. Mr. Cumming states that the same account of the discovery of Orry's Grave mentions that a similar dome-shaped cell was found at the Cloven Stones. The singular part of the story is, that a kistvaen was found in the domical cell, as such an arrangement is very unusual. There appears, however, to be no doubt that horses' teeth were discovered. Mr. Paul Bridson is in possession of a curious horseshoe found with them, so that there is little difficulty in assigning this work to the Norsemen.

On the road to Maughold, beyond Ballaglass, a Treen chapel was examined, presenting more finished masonry than those visited the day before. The interior, however, is so completely choked up with

briars and weeds, that it was with much difficulty an entrance into it was effected. On the ground, lately discovered, was a cross with a very rude figure. This has not yet been published, and will appear in the Journal.

The crosses and church of Maughold, the next objects of attraction, are too well known, and have been too frequently described to require any notice. The former have been already given by Mr. Cumming; the latter correctly described by the author of the *Ecclesiological Notes*. The large mediæval cross, with the arms of Man, is late work of the fourteenth century, if not of the early part of the fifteenth. The church, which retains its Romanesque western entrance, has portions of the thirteenth century, such as the chancel. In some late repairs, many indications of an earlier building were found worked up in the walls, together with two crosses in the west gable. A stone coffin, taken from the churchyard, now serves as a horsetrough, and many sculptured stones have been used in buildings in the village. If practicable (and nothing but a little energy and spirit seems wanted) it would be very desirable that all such numerous relics, now scattered about (one of them is in King William's College), and especially the horsetrough, should be replaced in a conspicuous and safe position within the churchyard. The font is of the same rude character as others previously noticed. The curious representation of St. Patrick and St. Machutus, as they are supposed to be, attracted much attention. The churchyard, of such unusual extent, has been at one time fortified with a strong earthen defence; and contained within it the foundations of various buildings, either dwellings or small chapels, which deserve more careful examination than seems to have been yet made. The foundations of these structures probably exist under the accumulated vegetation. On the hill above are the remains of an early camp, explored by some of the most active present, and reported by them to consist of a single ditch and rampart. The celebrated well of the saint was not visited from want of time.

After passing through Ramsey, the members were received at Ballakillingan with genuine Manx welcome, by Mr. and Mrs. Farrant,—a reception particularly acceptable after the exertions of the morning, which, from the hilly nature of the roads, had been rather severe. Time, however, not admitting of much delay, after thanking their host and hostess for their kindness, the members proceeded on their way home, first stopping to inspect a large and small kistvaen, placed for the sake of security in the garden at Orrysdale. The large one, composed of slabs of slate, was of unusual length, and contained nothing but a kind of conglomerate of earth and ashes. The other one, on the other hand, was of such small dimensions that it could not have held anything but a moderate sized urn. The time of its being first opened, or what it contained, was not known to the proprietor, Mr. Crellen. Some of the company remained here for a short time, to partake of coffee, the rest proceeding to Bishop's Court, where they

were hospitably received by the Bishop and his family. Before, however, reaching the Court, the Bishop led the way to a group of large stones, which, like others seen during the week, were but the remains of a burial place, the upper part of which had been carried away. By an accident, one of the stones remained covered with a portion of the original mound, which appears to have been composed of earth, and which would have been acceptable to the farmer.

Of the remains of the ancient dwelling of the Bishop of Man, a rectangular massive tower is the sole relic, which may be as old as the fourteenth century; the upper portion is of later character. The new chapel, built by the present Bishop, is the best modern ecclesiastical building in the island, and is fitted up with good taste. The examination, under the guidance of Mr. Kneale, of the celebrated Kirk Michael crosses, concluded the labours of the day.

These crosses, as well as the rest in the island, have been well illustrated in Mr. Cumming's larger work. The tall cross on the right hand, as one enters the churchyard, bears Celtic names in a dialect and character distinct from other inscriptions in the island; but the true reading, owing partly to the condition of the inscription, has not yet been agreed on. The cross on the south side commemorates that one Gaut made all the crosses in Man. The cross near the tomb of Bishop Wilson bears in its ornamentation a strong likeness to some of the Scottish crosses. The church has been rebuilt in the *usual* insular church style.

A long drive home to Douglas, by a road the beauty of which was unfortunately not seen, owing to the darkness, concluded the Manx Meeting of the Association; which, either as regards the beauty and variety of the scenery, the interest of its various antiquities, and the cordial kindness with which the members were everywhere received, yields to no previous meeting from the establishment of the Cambrian Archæological Association.

TEMPORARY MUSEUM, DOUGLAS.—CATALOGUE OF CONTENTS.

THE Temporary Museum, held in St. James' Hall, although not very extensive, contained several objects of local interest.

PRIMÆVAL AND SCANDINAVIAN.

Celt (green stone) found on Langness, near the Landmark.

Rev. J. G. Cumming.

Stone mould for combs (?) and a round, unknown article, found at Braose;

Stone vessel, probably used for various purposes. Similar ones are known elsewhere. There are several examples in the Museum at Edinburgh. This one was found in a bank on the Seafield estate;

Fragment of Cinereal urn from Ballahot Quarries, Malew.

Quern found at Craig Neesh;

Stone axe found in a marl-pit at Ballaugh, with remains of *Cervus Megaceros*;

Massive stone axe found in Ulster;

King William College Museum.

Quern found in Foxdale by the late Dr. Oswald, 1820.

Mr. Paul Bridson.

Stone weapon and three flint flakes from Hoxne.

Rev. J. G. Cumming.

Stone ring found at Cross Welkyn, Balladoole.

Mrs. C. Hall.

Skull from a stone cist in the Cronk-ny-Keillane, having a cleft close to the left parietal suture caused by some weapon.

Dr. Oliver.

COINS, MEDALS, ETC.

Gold coin found in the crevice of a rock in Castletown Harbour in 1834, having on the *obverse* St. Michael clothed in scale armour, standing on the prostrate dragon, and piercing him through the mouth with the point of his spear, the upper end of which terminates in a floriated cross. * HENRICUS . DI . GRA . REX . ANGL . Z . FRA . * *Reverse*, a ship or ancient galley whose mast represents a massive cross, on the right hand of which is the letter h, and on the left a fleur-de-lis. On the side of the ship is a shield, on the top of which is the cross surmounted by a crown, with the arms of England and France quartered. * PER . CRVSE' . TVA' . SALVA . NOSTRE . REDET' . * Weight, seventy-six grains and

a quarter. A similar coin (the angel), found in Arbery in 1847, is in the possession of the Rev. J. G. Cumming.

Mrs. John Quayle, Rushen House.

Silver medal of Edward VI ;

Quarter-guinea of George II.

Mr. Webster.

A fine collection of gold, silver, and other coins, commencing from the Saxon period, several of which were found in the Isle of Man.

Mr. F. L. Gelling.

Second brass of Claudius, various Manx coins, and various tokens.

Archdeacon Moore.

"John Murray penny," 1668 ;

Silver coin of the Derby family. This appears to have been the ordinary copper type struck in silver, 1733 ;

Gold seven-shilling piece of George II, found in Kirk German.

Mr. Paul Bridson.

A plate of Manx coins and tokens including the "Butchers' pence," etc., once in circulation in the Isle of Man.

Dr. Clay, President of the Manchester Numismatic Society.

A print of coins containing the "John Murray penny" of 1668, from an old and scarce work.

Mr. Thomas Garrett.

MILITARY WEAPONS.

Small culverine found near the site of Old Fort in Peel Bay ;

Crossbow-bolt from Heidelberg Castle, 1562 ;

A collection of bows, arrows, etc., from the Fish and Snake Indians ;

Dagger from the Fejee Islands ;

Assagais, bow, arrows, etc., from Africa.

Captain Lindsay.

Stone hatchet and handle, New Zealand.

Rev. C. R. Manning.

Yataghan found in Derby Square, 1865, supposed to have been left on the occasion of the Turkish ships' arrival, when the town of Douglas was burnt.

Dr. Oliver.

Gun-lock and tinder-box ;

Fragment of iron sword-blade from a grave in the Kirk Braddan churchyard.

Mr. Charles Swinnerton.

The sword of William Christian (Illiam Dhône).

Mr. W. F. Moore.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Ancient wooden spoon found in Rushen Castle.

King William's College.

The brass of Bishop Rutter, found, 1844, in a well in Peel Castle, with this inscription,—

IN HAC DOMO QVAM A VERMICVLIS
ACCEPI, CONFRATRIBVS MEIS SPE
RESVRRECTIONIS AD VITAM
JACIO SAM. PERMISSIONE DIVINA
EPISCOPTVS HVJVS INSVLÆ
SISTE LECTOR. VIDE ET RIDE
PALATIUM EPISCOPI.

OBIIT XXX DIE MENSIS MAII 1663.

- The stirrup-irons and spectacles of Bishop Wilson, Bishop Hildesley's watch and Malacca walking-stick;
Ancient spur found near Kronck Shen (Castletown) by Bishop Short.
Bishop Powys.
A cabinet of curious workmanship containing the skull-cap of Bishop Wilson, and also a cup formerly belonging to Bishop Hildesley.
Miss Cubbon, Ramsey.
A penknife of Bishop Wilson.
Archdeacon Moore.
Carved oak-box of the seventeenth century, containing a silver-mounted flagon, said to have belonged to the Frissels, once Thanes of Man, from Peel Castle.
Mrs. John Quayle, Rushen House.
Encaustic tiles from Rushen Abbey.
Rev. J. G. Cumming.
Three brasses of the Garret and Heywood families, 1659, 1692;
Heater-shaped brass.
Mr. Thomas Garrett.
Plate for half-crown Manx notes;
Portion of linen from a coffin in Maryport Church, near Bristol, of the time of Cromwell;
Pin-button of a coat, of the time of Charles I;
Portion of the Wellington oak brought in 1815 from Waterloo by Sir Stamford Raffles;
Musical gold seal;
Dr. Oliver.
Bog-oak box containing photograph of painted glass from St. German's Cathedral.
Mrs. C. Hall.
Portion of an old beam from Rushen Castle.
Mr. Paul Bridson.
Paten given to Kirk Malew, 1748, by Catherine Hallsall.
Mr. Charles Swinnerton.
Leaden seal found in Rushen Castle.
Mr. W. A. Breary.
Ancient watch noting the months and days.
Mr. H. B. Noble.
Lid of box mounted in silver filigree, found on Balgean estate. The box, said to have contained coins, is thought to have been appropriated by the workmen who found it.
Captain Rowe.

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